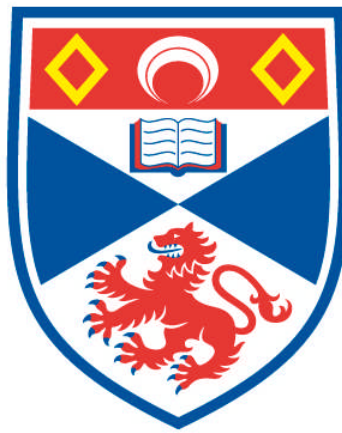


**ABBATIAL ELECTIONS:
THE CASE OF THE LOIRE VALLEY IN THE ELEVENTH
CENTURY**

Catriona Howie

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews**



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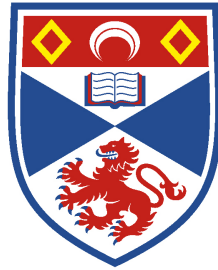
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Abbatial Elections:
The Case of the Loire Valley in the Eleventh
Century

Catriona Howie



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
PhD
at the
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26th February, 2015

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Abstract

This thesis examines a series of documents described as electoral charters, produced in monastic institutions of the Loire Valley from the late tenth to late eleventh centuries. By considering the variations in the formulas used for each charter, the study considers what the charters were saying about power or wanted to project about the powers at play in the events they described. Through this, the thesis demonstrates that the power of lordship projected by such documents was of a very traditional nature throughout the period in which they were being produced. The count's role on each occasion showed him to be a dominant force with a power of lordship composed of possession and rights of property ownership, but also intangible elements, including a sacral interest.

By considering the context of events surrounding each charter of election, the thesis demonstrates that elements of this lordship could be more or less projected at different times in order that different statements might be made about the count. Thus, the symbolic expressions of power appear to have been bigger elements or more strongly emphasised in periods when the count's political or military power was under pressure.

The differences in formulas used throughout the period of the charters' production demonstrate that, despite the appearance of new elements that may appear to have been important novelties, these processes were likely to have been original to proceedings, and therefore the notions of a reform of investitures taking place in the mid-eleventh century must be nuanced. Instead of demonstrating a mutation in relationships between lord and Church, the documents demonstrate an alteration in style and content, becoming more narrative and verbose and in these ways revealing elements of the process of abbatial elevations that had previously been hidden from view.

Acknowledgements

I have been fortunate in undertaking this work to have received the help of librarians at the British Library, at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, as well as in the municipal library of Angers, where special thanks are owed to Marc-Édouard Gautier for his expertise. In addition, the assistance of the archivists at the departmental archives of Maine-et-Loire, Loir-et-Cher and Indre-et Loire has been invaluable in providing me with access to sources, and I am grateful for their generous willingness to share their own vast knowledge to bring to my attention useful works of which I would otherwise have been unaware. The research trips which allowed me to access these libraries and their collections would not have been possible without the financial assistance received from the School of History, University of St. Andrews and the Society for the Study of French History. Thanks are due also to the School of History, University of St. Andrews, in particular Tim Greenwood, and to the School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh, especially Tom Brown and Andrew Brown, for providing me with employment to fund these studies. I am very grateful to all of these bodies for making the whole project possible.

For providing me with the original encouragement and the thoughts that proved to be the seeds of the project, thanks are surely due to Prof. David d'Avray and Dr. Antonio Sennis, as they are to Judith Green, whose insightful comments early on proved to be so fruitful. To Frances Andrews, for an awareness of the manifold ways in which the topics included here could be approached, thank you. Subsequent thanks must also go to the staff, secretaries and students of the Institute of Mediaeval History at St. Andrews who have constantly provided me with an enthusiastic atmosphere in which to work. Unquestionably, this thesis would be much poorer without the professional and personal support and friendship of the postgraduate community, most especially Patricia Stewart, Rob and Varan Houghton, Maxine Esser for their good-humour, and Matt McHaffie for his intricate knowledge of Angevin cartularies.

Among these names should also be listed that of Berenike Walburg, whose kindness, friendship, and ability to find good humour in the moments when it was most needed were quite unsurpassed. It is to her memory that this work must be dedicated.

Other historians deserving my utmost thanks for their advice and some outside perspective on the issues of the work as a whole must surely include Terry Stewart, and Katrin von Schirp. I should also thank alongside them Heather Alexander, Caitlin Macnamara and Sarah Wicks for their friendship, hospitality, and long-suffering patience.

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Abbreviations

<i>Ann. Sancti. Albini</i>	<i>Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis</i>
Archives de Maine-et-Loire	Arch. de M.-et-L.
Bib. mun.	Bibliothèque Municipale
Bib. nat. ms. lat.	Bibliothèque nationale de France, manuscript latin.
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
du Cange	Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis, ed. C. du Cange, 10 vols. (5 th ed., Niort, 1883-7).
<i>Cart. de la Trin. et de Vend.</i>	<i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme</i> , ed. C. Métais, 5 vols. (Paris, 1893 – 1904).
<i>Cart. du Ronceray</i>	<i>Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Ronceray d'Angers</i> , in <i>Archives d'Anjou. Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province</i> , ed. P. Marchegay, 3 vols. (Angers, 1843-1854), here vol. 3 (1854).
<i>Cart. de Saint-Aubin</i>	<i>Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers</i> , ed. B. de Broussillon, 3 vols. (Paris, 1903).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Gallia Christiana</i>	<i>Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa: qua series et historia archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum franciae vincinarumque ditionum</i> , 7 vols. (Paris, 1870-1899).

<i>Gratian</i>	<i>Concordia discordantium canonum, Corpus Iuris Canonici</i> , ed. A. E. Friedberg 2 vols. (2 nd ed. Leipzig, 1879).
<i>JMH</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>
Mansi	J. D. Mansi, <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova Amplissima Collectio</i> , 31 vols. (Venice, 1774)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>Anti. Poet.</i>	<i>Antiquitates. Poetae Latini medii aevi</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistolae</i>
<i>SS rer. Merov.</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum</i>
Niermeyer	<i>Mediae Latinitatis lexicon minus</i> , ed. J. F. Niermeyer (Leiden, 1976).
<i>O. V., Hist. Eccl.</i>	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , in <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 188.
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-66).
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae Cursus Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-65).
<i>Rec. d'ann. ang. et vend.</i>	<i>Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendômoises</i> , ed. L. Halphen (Paris, 1903).
<i>Rec. des Chartes de Cluny</i>	<i>Recueil des Chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny</i> , eds. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, 6 vols. (Paris, 1876-1903).
<i>Rev. Bén.</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>

Rev. hist.

Revue historique

RM

La règle du maître, ed. and trans. A. de Vogüé, 2 vols.
(Paris, 1964-5).

A note on names and spelling

The texts of the charters given here follow spellings given in the original manuscript cartularies or documents where available. This is primarily because the choice of edited spelling that the published edition by de Broussillon uses, for example *j* for consonantal *i*, is intolerably old-fashioned now. On the other hand, the graphic distinction between *u* and *v* is certainly a modern one, and most editors of Latin texts, even post-Classical ones, now always use *u* for both vowel and consonant, and similarly *V* for either capital letter. Making a distinction between these, however, greatly helps less experienced Latin readers, so I am inclined to be unfashionable and keep the distinction. The same goes for abbreviated or omitted diphthongs in the medieval texts: accessibility of the text is much improved by making it evident that *-oe-* and *-ae-* are diphthongs. This has been done by following the practice of the eleventh-century manuscript texts, in which scribes either included both letters or used *ę*. de Broussillon's tactic of simply ignoring these shows a misunderstanding of the eleventh-century palaeographic tendencies, or else was done for reasons that are no longer self-evident. To avoid complicating the texts below, I have not marked expansions of contractions or sigla as they appear in the manuscripts or copied texts, but have fully transcribed and expanded all abbreviations, and altered spellings as described. Whilst marking expansions of abbreviations is a recognised process in creating a critical edition, it seemed to provide much complication for the reader with little practical gain in this case.

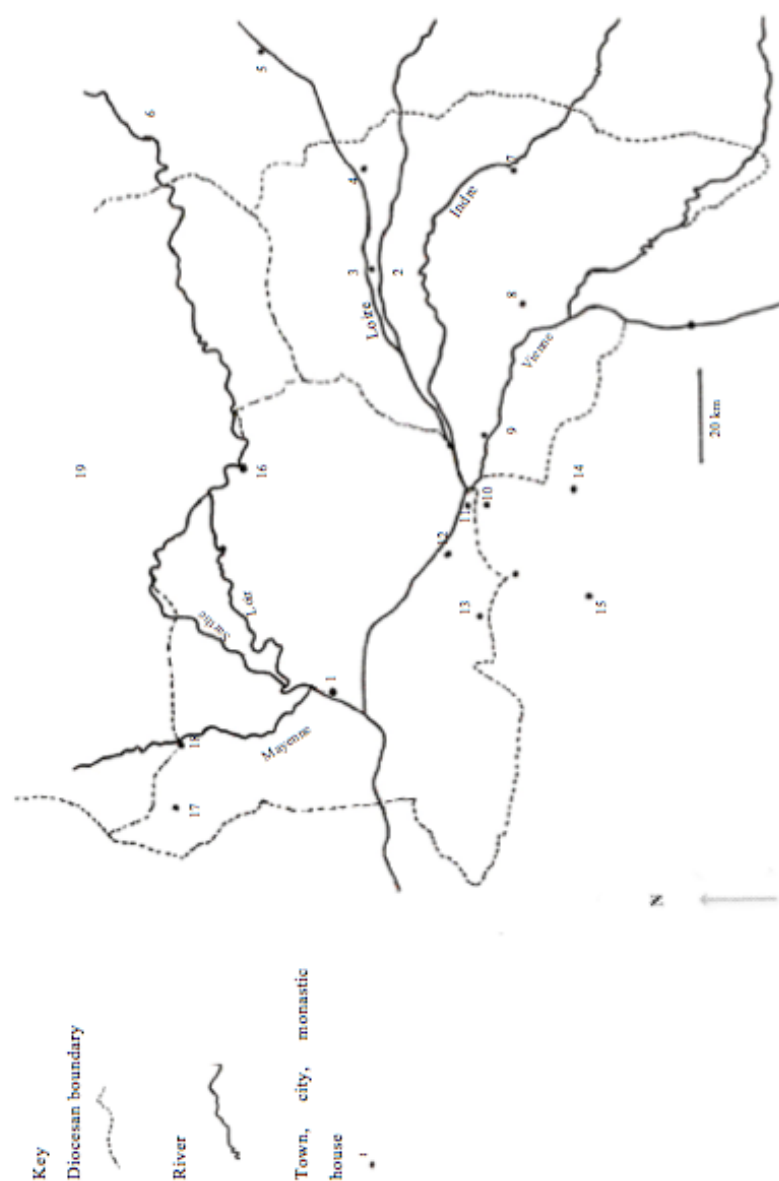
The formation of a consistent and entirely rational system of nomenclature is a perplexing consideration with a selection of sources and bibliography that presents a range of spellings for the names of people and places. Historians themselves seem to employ a variety of "conventional" forms before one even considers variations that occur between different modern languages, and so there is no regularised pattern to designation that one might follow.

In short, forms of the names and places relevant here appear in distinctive and contradictory ways, and whilst the most sensible thing to do would be to anglicise

all names, given the breadth of French literature that discusses these characters where the English does not, it seems slightly awkward and to grate against established impressions of these characters to change the names of such familiar people. To sympathise with Steven Fanning, to refer to a Renaud, for example, as Reginald, Raginaldus, Reginaldus or Rainaldus, “would almost rob him and the other persons concerned of the identity that they have come to possess.”¹ The Latin forms of personal names have therefore been mostly altered in favour of modern French versions, or English ones where convention had already provided an alternative or where a direct and unantiquated choice was available. This system, although perhaps slightly idiosyncratic, avoids the synthetic Germanisation of a Loire world that dropping the Latin endings of names would have created, whilst similarly avoiding the creation of a whole generation of characters artificially anglicised.

¹ Steven Fanning, “A Bishop and his World before the Gregorian Reform: Hubert of Angers, 1006 – 1047,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 78 part 1 (1988), p. viii.

	Guide
1	Angers
2	Tours
3	Marmoutier
4	Amboise
5	Blois
6	Vendôme
7	Loches
8	Ste. Maure
9	Chinon
10	Fontevraud
11	Montsoreau
12	Saint-Florent-de-Saumur
13	Doué
14	Loudun
15	Thouars
16	Le Lude
17	Craon
18	Château-Gontier
19	Le Mans



Dioceses of Angers and Tours, c. 1100



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Introduction

On 19th June, 966, Count Geoffrey Grisegonelle of Anjou (c. 960-987), with the consent of the bishop of Angers and his nobles, appointed as abbot to the monastery of Saint-Aubin d'Angers a man named Albert. Further, he granted the monks of Saint-Aubin the right to choose whomsoever they wished as the next abbot, immunity in their own lands except in certain cases, and the return of usurped lands. All this was confirmed in a document marked by the count, bishop, certain canons of the cathedral of Angers, with further canons and certain monks named as witnesses.²

Thus began the chapter of the cartulary of the monastery of Saint-Aubin d'Angers entitled *Cartae de Electione Abbatum Sancti Albini*, a chapter containing the texts of 11 documents, 10 of which describe themselves as "charters of election." These documents pertain to abbatial successions dating from 968 to 1082 and are, by virtue of their declared subject matter, very distinctive. This is not to say that they are inappropriate to such a monastic establishment: founded in the sixth century by Childebert I, from the time of its foundation this house formed the religious focus of the city of Angers, and it retained this eminent position throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries.³ From 906 the viscount of Angers, then the count

² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Bertrand de Broussillon, 3 vols. (Angers, 1903), here vol. 1, pp. 38-40 no. XXI.

³ For the early history of this monastery, Olivier Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1972), here vol. 1, pp. 129-138; Guy Jarousseau, "L'abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers, lieu d'une tradition royale de l'investiture de l'épiscopat" in *Foi chrétienne et églises dans la société politique de l'Occident du Haut Moyen Âge (Ive-XIe siècle)*, edited by J. Hoareau-Dodinau and P. Texier (Limoges, 2004), pp. 105-132 ; Steven Fanning, "A bishop and his world before the Gregorian reform : Hubert of Angers, 1006-1047," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* vol. 78, no. 1 (1988), pp. i-193, here p. 15.

himself, had been lay abbot of the place through a hereditary right. It was also the location where the bishops of the diocese of Angers were consecrated, and therefore, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the monastery was central to the power of the Angevin comital family, and its control constituted a vital element of comital prestige.⁴

The existence of these electoral charters were not an entirely isolated incident: there are known to be extant two similar electoral charters from the female house of Sainte-Marie de la Charité in Angers, today more commonly known by its sixteenth-century name of le Ronceray, one pertaining to a succession at the monastery of Montier-la-Celle, and one pertaining to a succession at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur.⁵ All of these documents describe events dating to the late tenth and

⁴ Olivier Guillot, *ibid.* vol. 1, pp. 129-151; Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2008), p. 199 ; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here p. 73 ; Jarousseau, "L'abbaye Saint-Aubin"; Guy Jarousseau, "Electio, voluntas et ordinatio, Quelques jalons sur les modes de désignation des évêques en Gaule de l'époque mérovingienne au début du XIIe siècle" in *Libertas Ecclesiae. Esquisse d'une généalogie (1650-1800)*, edited by Stéphane-Marie Morgain (Paris, 2010), pp. 33-68, here pp. 56-8. By the early decades of the eleventh century, Angers was also home to the Benedictine houses of Saint-Serge and Saint-Bach, Sainte-Marie de la Charité du Ronceray, and Saint-Nicholas. Other significant Benedictine monasteries of the region included Saint-Florent-de-Saumur and Marmoutier. See Bernard S. Bachrach, "Fortifications and Military Tactics: Fulk Nerra's Strongholds circa 1000," *Technology and Culture* vol. 20, no. 3 (1979), pp. 531-549 ; Bernard S. Bachrach, "The Angevin Strategy of Castle Building in the Reign of Fulk Nerra, 987-1040," *The American Historical Review* vol. 88, no. 3 (1983), pp. 533-560 ; Bernard S. Bachrach, "Enforcement of the *Forma Fidelitatis*: the Techniques used by Fulk Nerra, Count of the Angevins (987-1040)," *Speculum* vol. 59 (1984), pp. 796-819. Map 2 above illustrates these institutions c. 1100.

⁵ Sainte-Marie is so-called because in 1527, after years of neglect and destruction due to the Hundred Years' War, a bronze statuette believed to be from the original eleventh-century chapel was found in an overgrown and ruinous crypt. This figure was kept and deeply venerated and the habit of calling the abbey le Ronceray ("bramble patch") developed in response to this. *Cartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae Caritatis*

eleventh centuries, and, with the sole exception of Montier-la-Celle, pertain to monastic institutions in the heart of the Loire Valley.

The appearance of these charters of election seems to be unprecedented. Moreover, as a series, no further collections of charters recording monastic elevations are known to be extant. The function of these documents must therefore be considered, and careful consideration given to the role they played in society, why they were created and for whose benefit.

Mutation *féodale*?

The post-Carolingian world, however, is a place that has seen many words written about it, and the eleventh century context of these charters is a period which has seen much debate. It is therefore impossible to look at eleventh-century France without discussing that most contentious of historiographical debates, the “feudal revolution,” now almost synonymous with the *mutation de l'an mil* and millenarian discussions, and the significance these various contexts hold for our charters. The concept of a “feudal society” was envisaged by nineteenth-century historians in an attempt to describe what was observed to be a very particular period of French history, a moment when it was perceived that the reach of monarchy and state authority retreated, and their influence was replaced with smaller units of power, fiefdoms based around quasi-independent castles, where ritualised and personal bonds of dependency were used to rule and maintain power.⁶ Thus, in their view,

Andegavensis in *Archives d'Anjou. Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province* ed. Paul Marchegay, vol. 3 (Angers, 1854), here pp. 16-18, nos. 15 and 16 ; Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, edited and translated by Frederick Behrends, (Oxford, 1976), here pp. 273-4, Appendix B, no. 1, dated "c. late 1037-8"; *Electoral charter of Sigo to the abbey of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur*, ms. H 1910, Arch. dép. de M.-et-L.

⁶ The main divergence was between those who saw seigneurial rights as based around the castle and power of the warrior, Jacques Flach, *Les Origines de l'ancienne France, Xe et XIe siècles* (Paris, 1886-1917), and those who saw lordship as based around land, Henri Sée,

the social and legal order of the Carolingians persisted until the late tenth century, then collapsed during a few decades of sudden and massive change. Carolingian institutions of authority were usurped and subverted to their own purposes by violent lords; unchecked by now-defunct central power, knighthood, lordship and a form of conditional landholding known as the fief became the defining features of European society. This redistribution of power and altering of class structures led to a proliferation of castles, banal lordship and “evil customs” (*malae consuetudines*) in the eleventh century, alongside the construction of a new class of serfs from a previously free peasantry, who were commandeered to build the new stone monuments and work on land for the direct profit of lords. Such readings of this period inevitably marked it out and isolated it from the demarcated periods perceived on either side of this sudden break.

The movement to mark what might be termed the “long eleventh century” - a period that might be variously defined as c. 960 – 1100, or any period within this - as a time in which earlier trends were dropped continued into the twentieth century. As French historians began to write regional monographs, more narrow in geographical range and in period covered than the earlier pan-French medieval histories, the theory of the “feudal society” developed, and the appearance of major social, institutional, and religious crises around the year 1000 were cited as evidence of the major changes that led to the feudalisation of French society. Some variation concerning the date appeared in the discussion, but the basic notion was established and it became a highly specific phenomenon set within history. And if a new focus on regional studies towards the middle of the twentieth century pointed to social complexities that could not sit comfortably within the narrow schema of the feudal society constructed in the nineteenth century, then these historians still engaged with the model as an established element; his research on serfdom in the

Les Classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au moyen âge (Paris, 1901). This difference was later echoed by Georges Duby, Pierre Bonnassie, and by Marc Bloch in the twentieth century.

Vendômois c. 1000-60 may have suggested no abrupt change in practice, but Marc Bloch's famous 1939 work was still entitled *La société féodale*.⁷

Taking their cue from Marc Bloch's work, the interpretation of the period as a time of sudden change and the desire to engage with concepts of feudalisation following millennial transformations was developed by French medievalists such as Jean-François Lemarignier, Georges Duby, Pierre Bonnassie, Jean-Paul Poly, Eric Bournazel and Guy Bois.⁸ Duby's 1953 work proposed a collapse of law and order, the comital courts established under Carolingian tradition in the Mâconnais between 980 and 1030. In its place, Bisson summarised in 1994, came a harsh regime based around castles sheltering knights who imposed an array of novel obligations on peasants. These knights, descended from non-nobles, gradually came to form their own class.⁹ Changes to Duby's model were quickly developed by Lemarignier, who suggested a change of period away from the late Carolingian period, from 888 when principalities appeared, to 980-1030, when counties were

⁷ Marc Léopold Benjamin Bloch, *La société féodale; la formation des liens de dépendance* (Paris, 1939). Cf. Dominique Barthélemy, *La société dans le comté de Vendôme: de l'an mil au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp. 474-83.

⁸ Marc Bloch, *Feudal society* [La société féodale (Paris, 1949) 2nd edn., translated by L. A. Manyon] (London, 1961); Georges Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1971); Georges Duby, *The chivalrous society*, [translated by C. Postan] (London, 1977); J.-F. Lemarignier, "La dislocation du *pagus* et le problème des *consuetudines* (Xe - XI^e siècles)" in *Mélanges d'histoire du Moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen*, edited by Charles-Edmond Perrin (Paris, 1951), pp. 401-10; Jean François Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement royal aux premiers temps capétiens, 987-1108, etc. [With plates, including maps.]* (Paris, 1965); Pierre Bonnassie, *From slavery to feudalism in south-western Europe* (Cambridge, 1991); Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel, *The feudal transformation : 900-1200* (New York, 1991); Guy Bois, *The Transformation of the Year One Thousand: The Village of Lournand from Antiquity to Feudalism* [originally published as *La mutation de l'an mil: Lournand, village mâconnais de l'Antiquité au féodalisme*, translated by Jean Birrell] (Paris, 1989) [Manchester, 1992].

⁹ T. N. Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution"," *Past & Present* vol. 142 (1994), pp. 6-42, here p. 6, regarding Duby, *La société aux XI^e et XII^e siècles dans la région mâconnaise*.

broken up into castellanies.¹⁰ He cited the presence of castellan lords in the entourage of the Capetian kings in the 1020s as evidence of their rise to prominence.¹¹

However, although Duby recognised there might be more than one interpretation on some of these points, this model of historical change was reified and extrapolated from the Mâconnais to stretch over the whole of France.¹² For several decades, this model was tested in various regions of Europe and indeed, one of the clearest demonstrations of the *mutationniste* theory was found in Catalonia by Pierre Bonnassie, who pointed to an antiquated public order system based on Visigothic law which had protected peasant property and slavery being destroyed by castle-generated violence in the 1020s;¹³ by the 1060s, a new and radically feudalised social order had emerged. Within this, the use by non-noble warriors to rise rapidly in society led to the creation of a new class, a “knighthood” bordering on nobility.

¹⁰ Lemarignier, “La dislocation du *pagus*”; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*. Robert Fossier pointed to a similar social revolution in Robert Fossier, *Enfance de l'Europe Xe-XIIe siècle aspects économiques et sociaux* (Paris, 1982).

¹¹ J.-F. Lemarignier, *ibid.*; Lemarignier, *Le gouvernement*.

¹² See Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, pp. 165-71 concerning dispute settlement and appearance of features in sources. Stephen White, “A Crisis of Fidelity in c. 1000?” in *Building legitimacy : political discourses and forms of legitimacy in medieval societies*, edited by Isabel Alfonso, Julio Escalona, and Hugh Kennedy (Leiden 2004), pp. 27-49, here pp. 27-49, on Duby’s agnosticism concerning fiefs. On certain of Duby’s nuances being cast aside by subsequent research, see Dominique Barthélemy, *The serf, the knight, and the historian* [La mutation de l’an mil, a-t-il eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècles, translated by Graham Robert Edwards] (Ithaca, 2009), pp. 6-7.

¹³ Conclusions are well summarised in Poly and Bournazel, *Feudal Transformation*; Pierre Bonnassie, *La Catalogne du milieu du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle croissance et mutations d'une société* (Toulouse, 1975); Bisson, “The “Feudal Revolution””, here pp. 6-7.

Perhaps Bonnassie's most novel "discovery" was the contemporary popular movement against the supposed feudalisation, the Peace of God movement. Emerging in 989, it seemed a logical extension of the effects of dramatic millennial transformations and violence, and Richard Landes's work on the movement in the first half of the 1990s considered the relationship between the movement and contemporary perceptions of the period.¹⁴ If reference to the Peace of God movement generated the most prolific volume of words, then by the time Jean-Pierre Poly and Eric Bournazel's digest of 1980 was published, the feudal revolution had also pulled many other medieval developments into its orbit, including heresy, eremitical monasticism, changes in family structure, and millennial beliefs.¹⁵

By the mid-1990s, if few criticisms were being made of the Duby-Bonnassie model itself, new discoveries began to suggest that the categorical transformation envisaged was not so simple as it had been painted. The work of Claudie Duhamel-Amado questioned the existence of a free peasantry in tenth-century southern France, supposed by the model to predate feudalisation, when her research revealed the noble character of many allods.¹⁶ Duby's notion of a division between public and private spheres of power began to be criticised as anachronistic and overly simplistic, as did the vagueness and shortage of the Mâconnais charters which formed the corps of his evidence.¹⁷ More, the emergence of an American

¹⁴ Thomas Head and Richard Landes, *The Peace of God : social violence and religious response in France around the year 1000* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Richard Landes, *Relics, apocalypse, and the deceits of history : Ademar of Chabannes, 989-1034* (London, 1995).

¹⁵ Further work by Johannes Fried and Thomas head point to prevalence of violence and contemporary reactions to it.

¹⁶ Claudie Duhamel-Amado, "L'alleu paysan a-t-il existé en France méridionale autour de l'an Mil?" in *La France de l'an Mil*, edited by Robert Delort and Dominique Iogna-Prat (Paris, 1990), pp. 142-61.

¹⁷ Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals : the medieval evidence reinterpreted* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 166-8 ; F. L. Cheyette, "George Duby's *Mâconnais* after fifty years: reading it then and now," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 28 (2002), pp. 291-317 ; Stephen White, "Tenth-

school of historical anthropology led by Fredric Cheyette and Stephen White pointed to the existence in eleventh-century France of an objective system of conflict resolution which categorically opposed the transformationist model of irresistibly mounting violence.¹⁸

The emergence of this revisionist school began to point to a stronger element of continuity in those elements of French society previously claimed to have shown signs of a mutation. In addition to the work done on feuding and litigation by White and Cheyette, the extent of continuity of the high nobility and patterns of landholding have been studied by the likes of Barton, and patterns of continuity in these areas have been similarly discerned.¹⁹ White's work to suggest continuity has been continued in response to the counter-revisionist work of Thomas Bisson,

Century Courts at Mâcon and the Perils of Structuralist History: Re-Reading Burgundian Judicial Institutions" in *Conflict in Medieval Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, edited by W. D. Brown and P. Górecki (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 37-68 ; E. A. R. Brown, "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe," *The American Historical Review* vol. 79, no. 4 (1974), pp. 1063-1088.

¹⁸ Frederic L. Cheyette, "Suum cuique tribuere," *French Historical Studies* vol. 6 (1970), pp. 287-99 ; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The "Feudal Revolution"," *Past & Present* vol. 152 (1996), pp. 196-223 ; Stephen White, *Feuding and peace-making in eleventh-century France* (Aldershot, 2005). Cf. footnote 7 above, and Duby's awareness of tenth-century means of making settlement.

¹⁹ Stephen White, "Feuding and Peace-Making in the Touraine around the Year 1100," *Traditio* vol. 42 (1986), pp. 195-265 ; Stephen White, "The Politics of Exchange: Gifts, Fiefs and Feudalism" in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, edited by E. Cohen and M. de Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 169-188 ; Stephen White, "From Peace to Power: The Study of Disputes in Medieval France" in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, edited by E. Cohen and M. de Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 203-218 ; Cheyette, "George Duby's *Mâconnais* after fifty years: reading it then and now"; F. L. Cheyette, "Some Reflections on Violence, Reconciliation, and the "Feudal Revolution," in *Conflict in medieval Europe: changing perspectives on society and culture*, edited by Warren Brown and Piotr Górecki (Aldershot, Hants, England, 2003), pp. 243-64 ; Richard E. Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160* (Woodbridge, 2004).

whose 1994 article that went some way to reviving the Dubian periodization.²⁰ Bisson's work has focused on critiquing Barthélemy's position of continuity, seen as "extreme," partly by considering the larger picture over and above the situation regarding judicial institutions, and pointing to violence, the importance of feudo-vassilic relations in the arrangement of society, and a seigneurial lordship seen to be increasingly violent and autonomous.²¹ In response to revisionist concepts of stability and continuity, indeed, Bisson has suggested that it would be better to consider the changes as a mutation rather than a revolution, suggesting an immediate transformation.²²

Among the numerous other entry points into the conversation regarding the "feudal revolution," Richard Barton's work on Maine, influenced by White and others' anthropologically inclined analyses, has studied lordship in this region in order to consider the contemporary judicial process and presents a perhaps more considered and nuanced view.²³ The influence of Lemarignier in pointing to a geographical redistribution of power among castellans and lesser nobility can be seen, but Barton's conclusions still point to a continuity in contemporary perception and the attributes of lordship exercised.²⁴ Whilst a picture of flux emerges in which comital authority was fluid and could be contested, Barton's analysis points to lordship requiring honour and reputation rather than a

²⁰ Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution."

²¹ Ibid.; T. N. Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution": Reply," *Past & Present* vol. 155 (1997), pp. 208-225, here p. 224. Cf. White, "A Crisis of Fidelity".

²² T. N. Bisson, *ibid.* Responses by Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The "Feudal Revolution", *Past & Present* vol. 152 (1996), pp. 196-223 ; Timothy Reuter and Chris Wickham, "The "Feudal Revolution," *ibid.*, vol. 155 (1997), pp. 177-208. And reply by T. N. Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution": Reply," *ibid.*, pp. 208-225 ; Thomas N. Bisson, "Medieval Lordship," *Speculum* vol. 70, no. 4 (1995), pp. 743-759.

²³ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, p. 11. Cf Bruno Lemesle, *La société aristocratique dans le Haut-Maine XIe-XIIIe siècles* (Rennes, 1999).

²⁴ Lemarignier, "La dislocation du *pagus*"; Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, especially pp. 1-145.

delegated office or followers bound by fealty well before the millennium and continuing up to the collapse of comital power in Maine in 1035.²⁵ The concept is probably much less inclined to objective classification than it has been described in the past, but its willingness to consider individual elements of the situation is admirable and leads to a much more nuanced contribution

Or mutation documentaire?

During much of the Merovingian period, charters were produced as part of private transactions, and the use of certain formulas in them comprised legal proof of the transaction's validity. All persons involved signed them: principal characters involved in the action, witnesses and the notaries writing them. By the Carolingian period, however, north of the Alps, records were increasingly drawn up after the event depicted by scribes from the church or monastery involved in the matter, not at the time of the action, as had previously been the case. The use of rigorous formulas declined, and certain extreme cases merely gave summaries of what had happened and listed the witnesses.²⁶

Evidence of the cataclysmic changes brought about by the sudden feudal revolution have been sought in contemporary documents, and for the regions of Maine, Touraine, Blois and Anjou, changes in charter and document writing might be cited as reflections of the transformations that were taking place to the contexts surrounding the documents' production. Two of the most obvious changes to happen to western French charters during the eleventh century are the replacement of autograph signs on charter witness lists and the increasing

²⁵ Barton, *ibid.*, pp. 91-3.

²⁶ This development took place at different rates in different parts of Europe. Rosamond McKitterick, *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990); Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, "The Rôle of Writing in the Resolution and Recording of Disputes" in *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 207-13, here p. 211 ; Olivier Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale* (Turnhout, 1993), pp. 103-18.

inclusion of narrative sections in these documents.²⁷ These progressively more verbose accounts, often including explanations of disputes and previous actions connected to property, were a move away from the more formal standards of early Frankish diplomatic which had provided the model for such charters until this time.²⁸

This change in documents was taken by Duby in 1953 as evidence of the disappearance of public justice in the eleventh century, with the earlier formal, judicially acceptable charters being degraded into more informal fusions of document types.²⁹ Alain de Boüard, too, had viewed the new style as overly fluid and unstructured, wrecking the hitherto acceptable precise legal norms and written culture, and thereby demonstrating an “undeniable” crisis in law and diplomatics.³⁰ The appearance of such documents as these men described is assumed to have dragged the traditional charter down into the same informality and hybridisation, continuing a downward spiral. The end of subscriptions and the retreat of formulae in the Loire Valley between 1040 and 1060 are similarly alleged to be signs that the written record and justice were undergoing some sort of concluding final crisis. And if de Boüard viewed the situation as resulting from a long, slow, and steady decline, then Guillot, although significantly less fatalist than de Boüard, pointed to a much faster break with tradition, lining the changes up as a demonstration of his “transformation of the year 1060.”³¹

²⁷ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 2, pp. 5-20; Dominique Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? Observations sur des actes de Saint-Aubin d'Angers (XIe siècle)," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* vol. 155, no. 1 (1997), pp. 95-117.

²⁸ Chantal Senséby, "Une notice fausse du cartulaire tourangeau de Noyers?," *ibid.*, pp. 61-93 ; Dominique Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? Observations sur des actes de Saint-Aubin d'Angers (XIe siècle)," *ibid.*, pp. 95-117 esp. fn. 24; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 29-127, esp. 61-4.

²⁹ Georges Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise* (Paris, 1953), p. 9.

³⁰ A. de Boüard, *Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale* (Paris, 1948), pp. 100-48.

³¹ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 2, p. 7.

Much of the negative analysis concerning the changes identified was based on the assumption that the advance of the "notice," these less formal, formulaically flexible documents, took place at the expense of the "charter," the classic, structured document of earlier Frankish diplomatic which denoted a firm legal structure. The debate has no doubt been hampered by a lack of clarity concerning what was each type of document was and how it might be identified: the notice has been seen as an partner to the charter, but without the dignity or gravitas of the former; more than this, it has been a label applied to the least mannered documents, those with the freest appearance and, on the basis of this, "the most rustic character."³² These notions have evolved from the work of Duby, who defined documents composed using old formulae as "charters," and those that were freer, more fluid, as "notices." It seems that many of the associated stereotypes still have to be dispelled.³³ For Guillot, who seems happy to describe some of our documents as "charter-notices," the definition depended on the narrator: any act or part of an act written in the first person he deemed to be a charter; anything written in the third person, as a narration or report, became a notice. This almost certainly makes too severe a division between the two voices, which seem more likely to have appeared due to the stylistic intentions of their writers, especially in narrative passages relating events.

It is perhaps true that modern categorisations of documents are more rigid than contemporary writers would have recognised. However, it is more than slightly patronising to chalk the difficulties of modern scholars up to the notion that eleventh-century scribes had forgotten or blurred the distinction between the two types of document, naming them indiscriminately *notitia* or *carta*; an extant eleventh-century notice is not a "simple memorandum" for the use of its monastic

³² Barthélemy, *Serf, Knight, Historian*, p. 14 ; Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? ", here pp. 99-100.

³³ Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, p. 9.

guardians.³⁴ Instead, Barthélemy has cited declarations of purpose in eleventh-century documents that suggest that the writers had a firm notion of what they wanted to achieve in documents.³⁵ For example, acts such as manumissions and donations that effected an action can be seen to adhere to fairly conventional models and their preambles speak of the legitimacy of the act, the utility of an act of piety; other documents emphasise the need to conserve memory, and they endeavour to include detailed information, often beginning by recalling how useful it is to write things down in order to guard against oversight or fraud. The purpose and therefore requirements from each document are quite different.

The alteration and move to narrative texts cannot be denied, but these new forms of document that were emerging cannot therefore be seen as a debasement of the written word.³⁶ In 1992, Barthélemy attacked the Mâconnais-Catalan model of feudal revolution in a review of the second edition of Poly and Bournazel's *La mutation féodale*. Considering documentary evidence from Blésois, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, Barthélemy's analysis did not see evidence of new societal problems or complaints in the narratives, but the novel recording of details that had previously existed in society, even if they had not hitherto been recorded.³⁷ Indeed, the increased number of documents extant from the eleventh century suggests a new emphasis on written documentation, and it would be paradoxical to suppose that a sudden blooming of the numbers of notices could be signs of a crisis of writing and of the written document. Instead, the change that was being

³⁴ Bouïard, *Manuel de diplomatique française et pontificale*, p. 121.

³⁵ Barthélemy, *Serf, Knight, Historian*, pp. 14-15.

³⁶ Pierre Gasnault, "Les actes privés de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin de Tours du VIIIe au XIIe siècle," *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* vol. 112 (1954), pp. 24-66, here p. 4 ; Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, p. 9.

³⁷ Barthélemy did, however, support Guillot's chronology of the changes happening 1060s rather than 1000 in the Loire. Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 433.

witnessed was in written documentation and the notion of a documentary revolution became the counterpoint to the feudal revolution theory.³⁸

Even within the texts, the argument has been reflected: one of the great mutationist themes has been the sudden increase in monastic complaints concerning "evil customs" or unjust exactions (*malae consuetudines*) that have been cited as evidence of the rise of seigneurial violence and an indicator of deeper changes in judicial, social, and political structures.³⁹ Jean-Pierre Poly and Éric Bournazel gone further, making a change in vocabulary a means of precisely dating the mutation.⁴⁰ However, Stephen White, Patrick Geary and Richard Barton, all of whom tend to a less precipitous change in society, suggest that the appearance of such elements in texts do not suggest a real increase in violent events, but the emergence of a new discourse about violence.⁴¹ The emergence of *malae consuetudines* are thus, alongside an increase in documentation concerning monastic rights and landholdings, not indicative of an increase in violence, but a suggestion of the increasing self-confidence of monasteries in their dealings with lay lords over land rights. Barton's theory that misconceptions of the levels of violence in society have more to do with an underestimation of its use in the Carolingian period rather than an over-estimation of it in the period confirm the need to regard violence in context, and to pare it back to its true objectives.

³⁸ Dominique Barthélemy, "La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu? (Note critique)," *Annales: Économies, sociétés, civilisations* vol. 47 (1992), pp. 767-77 ; Dominique Barthélemy, "Debate: the feudal revolution. I," *Past & Present* vol. 152 (1996), pp. 196-205.

³⁹ Duby, *La société* p. 96 ; Lemarignier, "La dislocation du *pagus*". More recently, Jean Dunbabin, *France in the making, 843-1180* (Oxford, 2000), pp. xviii-xix.

⁴⁰ Jean-Pierre Poly and Éric Bournazel, *La mutation féodale Xe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1991), p. 96.

⁴¹ White, "The "Feudal Revolution"", here pp. 205-23 ; White, "A Crisis of Fidelity"; Dominique Barthélemy, *La mutation de l'an mil, a-t-elle eu lieu? Servage et chevalerie dans la France des Xe et XIe siècle* (Paris, 1997); Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance : memory and oblivion at the end of the first millennium* (Princeton, N.J. ; Chichester, 1994), pp. 24-6 ; Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, pp. 138-45.

Pragmatic Literacy

So if rapid and overarching societal change was not to blame for the changes in documentation, why were these altered forms of documents produced and so carefully copied into cartularies by monastic houses? The answers to this lie in a consideration of pragmatic literacy, of the key features and context of charters in particular eras, the reflection of their use in their production and preservation.⁴²

Use of charter documents in the past has been coloured by the traditional study of diplomatic founded by Mabillon's seventeenth-century work, *De re diplomatica*. This established diplomatic study as a science, providing rules of classification and definition closely bound to notions of codified legal provisions and assumptions of the centrality of leadership and virtue of statehood in upholding these.⁴³ In this tradition, scholars tended to interpret charters and diplomas primarily as legally authoritative documents, ancestral to and therefore parallel to official acts of contemporary public administration in that they were issued by state organs and

⁴² E.g. Karl Heidecker, *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society* (Brepols, 2000); more generally Patrick Geary, "Entre gestion et gesta" in *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 de C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*, edited by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 13-26, here p. 25 and Geary's comments on vocabulary in studies in various languages ; Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 81-2 ; and generally Pierre Chastang, "Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d'un nouveau champ de recherche," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* vol. 193, no. Janvier-mars (2006), pp. 21-31 offers a good summary. See in addition White, "Feuding and Peace-Making" ; Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1986); Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution" ; Dominique Barthélemy and Stephen D. White, "The "Feudal Revolution" *Past & Present* vol. 152 (1996), pp. 196-223 ; T. N. Bisson, "The "Feudal Revolution": Reply," *ibid.* vol. 155 (1997), pp. 208-225 ; Davies and Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*; Warren Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca, 2001).

⁴³ Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale*.

guaranteed by state authority.⁴⁴ Towards the end of the first third of the twentieth century, however, some of these assumptions were beginning to be challenged, and the focus of investigation for charters moved from interest in sovereign monarchs, central governments, and the political framework of the official bodies that were perceived to maintain political order, to local structures of power and the social history surrounding them, of regional history, and structural organisation of fabric of society that they were born into.⁴⁵ In these new environments, governance could be defined altogether differently to previous assumptions, and so old approaches had to be modified to fit the new interests. Thus, while concepts of power have been researched for many years, more recent methodologies have approached the documents looking for evidence of legal practice rather than legal norms, and representation, symbolism, ritual and the functioning of power rather than formalised political structures, as had previously been the case.⁴⁶ Indeed, historians have looked further afield in search of modes of maintaining peaceful society, and strategies of peace making and dispute that happened outside formal legal channels have formed a strong strand of research

⁴⁴ H. Fichtenau, "Diplomatiker und Urkundenforscher," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* vol. 100 (1992), pp. 9-49 ; K. Schreiner, "Wissenschaft von der Geschichte des Mittelalters nach 1945: Kontinuitäten und Diskontinuitäten der Mittelalterforschung im geteilten Deutschland" in *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg (1945-1965)*, edited by E. Schulz (Munich, 1989), pp. 87-146.

⁴⁵ K. Schreiner, *ibid.* See e.g. Hans-Werner Goetz, "The Perception of "Power and "State" in the Early Middle Ages: the Case of the Astronomer's "Life of Louis the Pious"" in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800-1500*, edited by Björn Weiler and Simon Maclean (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 15-36, here pp. 15-21 ; Gerd Althoff et al., *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 1-17 ; Paul R. Hyams, *Rancor & Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, 2003) has called again for a move away from focus on rules of procedure and legal doctrine.

⁴⁶ E.g. articles collected in Davies and Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*; Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *Property and power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995); Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986); *Pouvoirs et libertés au temps des premiers Capétiens*, ed. Elisabeth Magnou-Nortier, (Maulevrier, 1992).

and debate and demonstrated the importance of less formalised modes of settling differences.⁴⁷

Expanding upon this work, which has pointed to less institutional modes of managing society, the use of written documents has had to be reconsidered, and it has been postulated that charter documents should be interpreted symbolically, as artefacts used in public ceremonies.⁴⁸ Significantly, through expanding the way in which charters are considered and the questions that are asked of them, historians such as Rosenwein, Koziol, Barton, and White have demonstrated how much donations, gifts and exchanges had to do with building, maintaining, and recasting networks of alliance and clientage, usually grouped around significant monasteries and churches.⁴⁹ Within this framework, charters have been used to consider the

⁴⁷ White, *Feuding and Peace-Making in France*; White, "Feuding and Peace-Making"; Hyams, *Rancor & Reconciliation in Medieval England*.

⁴⁸ Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, "Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices. An Essay in Interpretative Methodology" in *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, edited by John van Engen (Notre Dame, 1994), pp. 313-343.

⁴⁹ Régine Hennebicque, "Structures familiales et politiques au IX^e siècle: en groupe familial du l'aristocratie franque," *Revue historique* vol. 265, no. 2 (1981), pp. 289-333 ; K. F. Werner, "Bedeutende Adelsfamilien im Reich Karls der Grossen. Ein personengeschichtlicher Beitrag zum Verhältnis von Königtum und Adel im frühen Mittelalter" in *Karl Der Grosse, Lebenswerk und Nachleben. I: Persönlichkeit und Geschichte*, edited by H. Beumann (Dusseldorf, 1967) trans. T. Reuter, "Important Noble Families in the Kingdom of Charlemagne - a Prosopographical Study of the Relationship between the King and the Nobility in the Early Middle Ages," *The Medieval Nobility*, ed. T. Reuter (Amsterdam, 1979), pp. 137-202; Duby, *La société* ; Stephen White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The laudatio parentum in Western France, 1050-1150* (London, 1988); Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca 1989); Davies and Fouracre, *Property and power in the Early Middle Ages*; Matthew Innes, *State and society in the early Middle Ages : the middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000); Brown, *Unjust Seizure*; John Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons in the Gorze reform Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2001); Hans J. Hummer, *Politics and Power in Early medieval Europe: Alsace and the Frankish Realm, 600-1000*

rituals and the symbols of authority that were conveyed, how power and authority appear in the documents, and not just how power was exercised through them and their manipulation.⁵⁰

Most recently, Koziol has contributed to the field by nuancing the two notions of the charters roles of both display of power and enactment of a deed with a realisation of the complexities that each individual case represents.⁵¹ Charters recollect moments when various branches of society had the opportunity to meet and interact. His argument that Carolingian royal diplomas were issued as performatives for such occasions reasons that each was issued in order to not only institute, but also broadcast and memorialise a crucial alteration in the political regime.⁵² If it were possible to extend this concept to charters, it would suggest a significance to the political events that they record, being the instruments by which power was contested and displayed, and by which each actor's level in society for that moment was defined.

(Cambridge, 2005); Richard Barton, "Making a Clamor to the Lord: Noise, Justice and Power in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France" in *Feud, Violence and Practice: Essays in Medieval Studies in Honor of Stephen D. White*, edited by B. Tuten and B. Billado (Farnham, 2010), pp. 213-35.

⁵⁰ Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch. Sacred monarchy and scrofula in England and France* [*Les rois thaumaturges: Étude sur le caractère surnaturel attribué à la puissance royale, particulièrement en France et en Angleterre*, translated by J. E. Anderson] (London, 1973); Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992); Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, 2001); Geoffrey Koziol, "Review Article: The dangers of polemic: Is ritual still an interesting topic of historical study?," *Early Medieval Europe* vol. 11, no. 4 (2002), pp. 367-388.

⁵¹ Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout, 2012).

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 17-62.

In order to understand the charters that were created and preserved in eleventh-century French society, we must understand the characteristics that made them so well suited to the political performances that they were involved with, in a highly competitive aristocratic society. Thus, it is important to state first that they were not just used in performances, but occurred in highly structured and ritual settings.⁵³ As flexible performative devices, therefore, written documents instituted, publicised, and memorialised events that were crucial to the political construct of their contemporary society. Koziol's move to see documents used performatively suggests not just a passive means for recording rights and recollecting the past, but suggests that such documents created a present within a broadly political process in which the nature of that present and thus of the past which created it, could be challenged. In this way, they shaped the past to fit the loyalties of a fluid and changeable present. He who could make written relics of the past could also make them disappear, and therefore had power and authority.⁵⁴

The charters produced also had their own identity that could be linked to memory and memorial of family actions, as well as preserving a memory of legitimate traditions which could be used against transgressors. This practice of power used writing to proclaim itself, which helps explain why documents were given at particular times and to particular beneficiaries.⁵⁵

Regional studies have demonstrated that, even while recording information about legal transactions, charters did not necessarily constitute real legal proof of such

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-41; Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 27, 83-7, 95-6, 103-4, 134-57, pp. 7-8 quotes a monk around 1040 expressing the righteousness of selective memory; Laurent Morelle, "The Metamorphosis of Three Monastic Charter Collections in the Eleventh Century (Saint-Amand, Saint-Riquier, Montier-en-Der)" in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, edited by Karl Ed Heidecker (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 171-204 critiques Geary's arguments.

⁵⁵ Esther Cohen, "Introduction" in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, edited by and M. de Jong E. Cohen (Leiden, 2001), pp. 1-10.

dealings for contemporaries.⁵⁶ In tenth and eleventh-century France, charters could function as tools of memory or reference that provided a statement of transaction, a list of witnesses who saw it performed, and the name of the scribe who recorded the affair. In cases where facts were later disputed and a legal case resulted, it seems to have been the case that evidence of previous related agreements was established not by the production of the charter and understanding of the terms described within it, but by oaths taken by the original scribe and witnesses to the act, who personally appeared to confirm the events that they had seen and heard.⁵⁷ After the life cycles of the witnesses, charters could provide little proof in themselves of the events that had happened and the agreements that had been reached, and it fell to an institutional memory to preserve the results of decisions made. This earlier concept can be seen from the cases in which charters were produced in trials and challenged, leaving disputes to be settled by compromise among witnesses who could testify to actions they had carried out, not because of what had been recorded of the event in a charter.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ E.g. at Saint-Aubin in 1074, Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? ", here pp. 108-9; Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, pp. 116-18 considers some of the aspects ; K. J. Heidecker, "30 June 1047: The end of charters as legal evidence in France?" in *Strategies of Writing. Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages: Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, edited by P. Schulte, M. Mossert, and I. van Renswoude (Turnhout, 2008), pp. 85-94.

⁵⁷ Marco Mostert, "Forgery and Trust" in *ibid.*, pp. 37-59 esp. p. 53.

⁵⁸ K. Heidecker, "Communication by Written Texts in Court Cases: Some Charter Evidence (ca. 800- ca. 1100)" in *New Approaches to Medieval Communication*, edited by M. Mostert (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 101-126 ; K. Heidecker, "Emploi de l'écrit dans les actes judiciaires. Trois sondages en profondeur: Bourgogne, Souabe et Franconie (VIIIe - début XIIe siècle)" in *Les actes comme expression du pouvoir au Haut Moyen Âge. Actes de la Table Ronde de Nancy, 26-27 novembre 1999*, edited by M.-J. Gasse-Grandjean and B.-M. Tock (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 125-138 ; Heidecker, "30 June 1047: The end of charters as legal evidence in France?"; Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit?"; Laurent Morelle, "Les chartes dans la gestion des conflits (France du Nord, XIe-début XIIe siècle)," *ibid.*, pp. 267-298 ; Georges Declercq, "Originals and Cartularies: the organization of archival memory (ninth-eleventh

To consider the notion of the memorial function provided by charters, the period is one in which a fascination with memory of the dead was evident. The involvement of monastic houses in many charters indicates their importance to contemporary society, and the granting of many *pro animae* suggests an emphasis on memory and memorialising events. Between the ninth and eleventh centuries, notions of individual commemorations for the dead grew in stature. Commendations for fraternities of the living and the dead recorded in Carolingian *libri vitae* were gradually replaced by the request to remember the deceased, registered in necrologies, at a fixed date and personally.⁵⁹ This personal memory of each deceased person, made by individual agreement, helped to ensure the sustainability of the assistance of the monks' prayers.⁶⁰ The gradual transition to a desire for more individualist memory may well also have been served by the creation of charters in regional society, allowing donors to create records of themselves that would be protected and safeguarded by the prayers and masses

centuries)" in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, edited by Karel Heidecker (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 147-170 ; Partick J. Geary, "Oblivion between orality and textuality in the tenth century " in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, edited by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, and Patrick J. Geary (Washington, DC, 2002), pp. 111-122 ; Koziol, *Memory and Identity*, p. 29 ; Warren Brown, "Charters as weapons. On the role played by early medieval dispute records in the disputes they record," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 28, no. 3 (2002), pp. 227-248, here pp. 229-30 with fn. 8 ; Laurent Morelle, "Que peut-on savoir du temporel de Fleury à l'époque d'Abbon? " in *Abbon, un abbé en l'an mil*, edited by A. Dufour and G. Labory (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 101-52. Similarly, the evidence of charters copied into cartularies seldom carried weight in a court, Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 83-4.

⁵⁹ E.g. Raoul I, viscount of Thouars, gave all the customs of Tourtenay to the monks of Saint-Pierre de Bourgueil on condition that they would sing a psalm every day for his soul and for the souls of his relatives. Michel Dupont, *Monographie du cartulaire de Bourgueil, des origines à la fin du moyen âge* (Tours, 1962), pp. 111, 175.

⁶⁰ Brown, "Charters as weapons", here pp. 229-30.

that the monastery was to be bound to, and acted towards each ones' own personal salvation.

One function of charters that could enable both the display of power and allow a member of contemporary society to participate in his own salvation was a grant of immunity. This was a legal grant of privilege in which the donor directed society around him, or at least those levels which he could command, to respect the peace and security of a beneficiary within a named area. Rosenwein's study of such grants in relation to the famous monastery of Cluny has argued that these actions were foremost acts of religious policy. In this way, in the early medieval period they were the means by which rulers would establish themselves as defenders and guardians of a monastic community. By claiming this form of responsibility, these donors could legitimately exert some control over the patrimony of the monastic institution, but they were also creating useful alliances with the communities of these places and their saintly patrons. This established a relationship between guardian and saint, allowing these powerful people to co-opt divine power as an ally and as a resource in their own display of lordship.⁶¹

The central connection between land and rights within areas cannot be separated from the exercise of power. But land was not only the basis of a dynasty's wealth and power, it was a way families knew themselves in a historical perspective, and therefore a means by which they could demonstrate identity. Similarly, interactions over property and rights were the means through which people negotiated and resettled their various levels in society.⁶² Memory of these interactions, and of a family's connection to land and rights, was therefore of primary importance to eleventh-century French society.

⁶¹ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint, and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Manchester, 1999).

⁶² Patrick J. Geary, "Land, Language and Memory in Europe 700-1100," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* vol. 9 (1999), pp. 169-184.

Geary's argument that cartularies were created to protect rights and to protect the memory of benefactors and the deeds of ecclesiastical lords is well known. For western European cartularies, he has pointed to the possibility held in cartularies for users to find the number and names of donors to a given ecclesiastical institution, as well as for the preservation of the memory of traditions and donations.⁶³ However, considerations of the pragmatic use of documents must also, in our context, consider the status of the monastic and episcopal cartularies that most extant charters were copied into. Until recently, cartulary copies of charters were seen as the poor cousin to originals which were understood to be more "correct" or "objective." It is rare that both originals and copies of charters exist, and so those extant in cartularies were used chiefly to rebuild alpha versions of lost documents, with little consideration of their cartulary setting or its significance.⁶⁴ Indeed, with a few exceptions, nineteenth and twentieth century editors sought more to identify genuine and forged texts, or pull apart interpolated texts to form now-absent alpha scripts and critical editions that could be used as

⁶³ Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 86-103.

⁶⁴ E.g. of the 147 separate items copied into a cartulary of Marmoutier in the second half of the eleventh century there are only 16 extant originals. Dominique Barthélemy, "Note sur les cartulaires de Marmoutier (Touraine) au XIe siècle" in *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 de C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*, edited by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 247-259, here p. 254 ; Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 82, 179-80. Reasons why have been debated, especially whether there were deliberate policies to destroy originals once copied, or whether they fell victim to theft, neglect, etc. See Georges Declercq, "Le classement des chartiers ecclésiastiques en Flandre au Moyen Âge," *Scriptorium* vol. 50, no. 2 (1996), pp. 331-44, here pp. 343-4 ; Michel Parisse, "Écriture et réécriture des chartes: les pancartes aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* vol. 155, no. 1 (1997), pp. 247-65, here p. 256 ; cf. Laurent Morelle, "Histoire et archives vers l'an mil: Une nouvelle "mutation"?" *Histoire et archives* vol. 3, no. janvier-juin (1998), pp. 119-41, here pp. 128-32 ; Morelle, "Three Monastic Charter Collections," and most especially p. 171 concludes, vs. Geary, that originals existed for some time after the production of cartulary copies.

one would an original.⁶⁵ Cartulary organisation might also be ignored, with documents put in as near to chronological order as was possible.⁶⁶ As Geary put it, "In other words, most scholarly attention has focused on eliminating the cartulary itself in order to provide transparent windows onto the original archives of an institution."⁶⁷

However, this perspective neglects to consider why cartularies were created. These collections of documents are not complete records of a religious institution's archives at a point in time; their contents were carefully selected, redacted, and chosen to be preserved in this form, and it is important to consider both the intentions of the scribes who selected charters for inclusion and their strategy in selecting some documents whilst suppressing others. Thus, at all times, historians using charter evidence from cartularies must beware the bias of the monastic scribes who copied charters into these vast tomes. In many ways, the formulas that they used could decontextualize the events that took place, and therefore novelties described may be novelties of the scribe's interpretation rather than representative of true innovation.⁶⁸ Carefully created, therefore, cartularies were repositories of *memoria*, but *memoria* seen through the filter of monastic protectors.

The cartulary of Saint-Aubin that contains our documents of monastic elevations is an early example of the cartulary organisation that presented first documents issued by important persons, such as papal privileges, royal diplomas, and then charters issued by counts and bishops, before arranging all other charters in

⁶⁵ E.g. Michael Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library (Cotton MS Nero E vi) : a study of the manuscript and its composition with a critical edition of two fragments of earlier cartularies for Essex* (Toronto, 1981).

⁶⁶ E.g. Constance Brittain Bouchard, *The Cartulary of Flavigny, 717-1113* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 4-6 cites previous editions of the Cartulary of Flavigny to have done this.

⁶⁷ Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* p. 83.

⁶⁸ Koziol, *Memory and Identity*, pp. 98-9.

groups according to the geographical region to which they pertained.⁶⁹ With such a clear structure to the contents, it is easy to see how Geary's argument fits this example. However, this organisation also suggests a desired ease of use that indicates the role the cartulary could play as a tool for the management of the monastery's property and rights. For eleventh-century manuscripts compiled during a period of monastic reform, renewal and restoration, the copying of cartularies together would have assisted the management and defence of properties and rights, as well remembering and therefore recovering properties that had been lost.⁷⁰ Indeed, Olivier Guyotjeannin has described the trend by which the drafting of charters became the virtual exclusive preserve of the schools and scriptoria of ecclesiastical beneficiaries as a "monastic bid for power."⁷¹ Morelle has pointed to the assistance the writing of legal actions was for donor families to forge identities, and this facet of the process must be acknowledged.⁷² However, in many ways, including through cartulary copies of documents, the initiative had passed from donors to the beneficiary ecclesiastical institutions: by guarding the memory of those who had given rights and property to the monastery, the

⁶⁹ Declercq, "Originals and Cartularies", p. 160 ; Monique Zerner, "L'élaboration du grand cartulaire de Saint-Victor de Marseille" in *Les Cartulaires. Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Ecole nationale des chartes et le G.D.R. 121 de C.N.R.S. (Paris, 5-7 décembre 1991)*, edited by Olivier Guyotjeannin, Laurent Morelle, and Michel Parisse (Paris, 1993), pp. 217-46 describes the cartulary of Saint-Victor de Marseille, which is similar in this respect. At Marmoutier, a series of regional cartularies were produced, while a separate book, the *Liber de servis*, was reserved for the donation of serfs, Dominique Barthélemy, "Note sur les cartulaires de Marmoutier (Touraine) au XIe siècle" in *ibid.*, pp. 247-159.

⁷⁰ Laurent Morelle, "Instrumentation et travail de l'acte: quelques réflexions sur l'écrit diplomatique en milieu monastique au XIe siècle," *Médiévales* vol. 56, no. printemps 2009 (2009), pp. 41-74, here p. 45.

⁷¹ Olivier Guyotjeannin, "'Penuria Scriptorum': le mythe de l'anarchie documentaire dans la France du Nord (Xe-première moitié du XIe siècle)," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* vol. 155, no. 1 (1997), pp. 11-44, here pp. 32-3. Translation my own.

⁷² Morelle, "Instrumentation et travail de l'acte: quelques réflexions sur l'écrit diplomatique en milieu monastique au XIe siècle", here pp. 44-6.

collection of charters upheld a donor's claim to the prayers of the community there and the favour of their patron saint, but it also obliged donor's descendants to defend the community's rights and property in order to protect their ancestors' souls.⁷³

In this way, the texts included in the cartulary can be considered not only to be juridical statements, but also as possessing a symbolic, cultural value.⁷⁴ The documents collected in cartularies contributed to a fundamental element of institutional memory at a time of reform and renewal, they created useful pasts for a monastery's future, and thereby also represent a pragmatic effort to critically select and organise information. It is with this realisation that we should approach the texts we consider.

Approach

The difficulties of beneficiary diplomatic are evident. However, in some ways, rather than entirely masking the events behind them, formulas can provide a rich source for suggesting the desired practice behind the transfers being made. Thus, we have presentations of what contemporaries wanted to declare about the events and political transactions. For the charters of abbatial election that are the focus of this study, the existence of a series of charters covering these moments from 968 to 1082 is invaluable, allowing any developments in this, or in the documents that recorded them, to emerge and become evident. Indeed, the charters of election gathered here form a convenient group of documents that largely conform to one of three models of textual arrangement. Following Koziol's attitude towards the formulas of charters, we shall therefore approach these charters as groups, and by

⁷³ Declercq, "Originals and Cartularies", pp. 160-5.

⁷⁴ Bedos-Rezak, "Diplomatic Sources and Medieval Documentary Practices. An Essay in Interpretative Methodology", p. 321 ; Geary, "Entre gestion et gesta"; Geary, *Phantoms of remembrance* pp. 23-6, 81-114 ; Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? "; Barthélemy, *Serf, Knight, Historian*, pp. 19-27 makes a similar argument.

comparing details that might appear to be incidental when considering the charters individually, be able to perceive changes. By contextualising the changes apparent in this series of charters with their historical and personal setting, evidence of the society that issued them emerges.

In addition to the charters contained in cartularies copies, there is one additional charter known to exist in original or contemporary form which demonstrates the breadth of these documents outside their cartulary context. And finally, there is one further charter which this study uses, a charter recording the relinquishment of duties owed to a lord, which incidentally to its own purpose presents an description of the proceedings at a 1056 abbatial elevation at the monastery of Saint-Aubin d'Angers. This provides an invaluable comparison to the charter of election that was created to record this event.

The Post-Carolingian Loire Valley

From a political point of view, the eleventh century Loire was a coveted region where the balance of powers at any point in time remained precarious. Locally, bishoprics and abbeys were known as centrepieces in the construction of powerful territorial principalities. Thus, if Capetian royal power remained master of the bishoprics of Chartres and Orléans and even tried to reassert control over the archbishopric of Tours, its influence collided with Angevin dominance, and also with the expansion of Norman power, which controlled the see of le Mans after 1065. With the ever-present threat of the powerful neighbouring counts of Blois adding their own weight of influence, the region therefore experienced fluid power balances, and many attempts by competing powers to extend and consolidate influence in the region took place throughout the long eleventh century.

One of the most remarkable details of the Loire Valley remains the permanence of ecclesiastical institutions inherited from the Carolingian era. It can be seen as an example of a post-Carolingian system, in so much as there does not seem to have been a true break with the Carolingian political order, marked by the strength of the joint force of count and bishop which remained fairly coherent even in the face of changing political stabilities.⁷⁵ The action of these two to reform monasticism might also be denoted as in keeping with the Carolingian model, with a largely traditional monasticism being a prominent feature of the region.⁷⁶

Indeed, a tenth-century reform of the Church to improve the character of ecclesiastics by reducing simony and clerical marriage was undertaken under their

⁷⁵ J. Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d'Angers, 1148-1240* (Lille, 1983), p. iii ; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 9-11 . The definition is ugly, given that it demands definition by comparison with the past, rather than defining the period in its own terms, but it has been used in much of the secondary bibliography, and is therefore used out of convenience.

⁷⁶ Eg. Steven Fanning, *ibid.*, pp. 85-92, esp. 86-8, demonstrating the work done with co-operation of count and bishop.

common direction and sparked a vigorous monastic restoration. This reform, however, was still heavy with proprietary assumptions.⁷⁷ Before the Gregorian rejection of lay involvement in the Church had taken hold, however, the connection between ecclesiastic and layman was not necessarily a cause of agitation among churchmen. Indeed, at the end of the tenth century, Abbo of Fleury, in describing to King Hugh and his son Robert their rights and duties within monasticism, included a duty of defence, drew attention to the inalienability of Church property, but also included canons recognising founders' interests and their rights in ordinary churches, which included certain rights to material goods.⁷⁸ Whilst lay lords might have compelled places under their control to reform, often bringing in new monks from other foundations to enact the reforms, putting the place in the hands of a reformer, or renouncing lay abbacies themselves, these reforms seldom required the surrender of all outside lordship. Indeed, reforming centres such as Cluny inspired lords to seek reform by suggesting that giving away a monastery for reform allowed the lord to assert that it was his to give, and thus his prestige and influence might be demonstrated and enhanced rather than diminished and relinquished.⁷⁹ As shown in the case of Marmoutier in the tenth century, a lord who had turned a monastery over to reformers might afterwards take it back into his sphere of control and maintain a formal lordship without any ill will.⁸⁰

Yet, despite the appearance of vivacious tenth century reforms, the lack of Cluniac implantation in the region is noteworthy. Instead, Geoffrey Martel (1040-60) sought to maintain a traditional balance in his oversight of the Church, allowing Bishop Eusebius Bruno (1047-81) and the monks of the region to work for the collective salvation of Christian society. This Isidorian model of the cooperation of

⁷⁷ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 832-4.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 818-19 ; Wood cites Abbo of Fleury, *Sancti Abbonis Floriacensis Abbatis Collectio Canonum* in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. D. Mansi, vol. 139, pp. 471-508, here col. 473.

⁷⁹ As in Cluny's papal privilege of 931, *Joannis Papae XI Epistolae et Privilegia* *ibid.* ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 132, pp. 1055-1062, here col. 1057.

⁸⁰ G.-M. Oury, "La reconstruction monastique dans l'Ouest, l'abbé Gauzbert de Saint-Julien de Tours (v. 990-1007)," *Revue Mabillon* vol. 54 (1964), pp. 69-124, here pp. 90-5.

powers also persisted in Maine and Normandy under Duke William II (1035-66) who sought the support of reformed fractions of the Church in order to strengthen his authority.⁸¹

The second half of the century saw difficulties caused by constant conflicts between the Church and secular powers, legitimated primarily through balance of power deemed to be unfavourable to one or other, and no longer by the public or sacral prerogatives that each might claim. Thus, at the very end of the eleventh century, lay perspectives of power that had hitherto seen comital power as sacred altered. The counts of Anjou seem to have maintained these traditions until the bitter end, in comparison to neighbouring counties, and it can be shown that Fulk le Réchin was utilising the same laudatory addresses and mechanisms to display his sacral role as his forbears had earlier in the century. Indeed, it is a notable feature of power relations in this region that a certain spiritual charisma was claimed and demonstrated until the very end of the eleventh century. Within the larger context, however, an ideological chasm separates Geoffrey Martel, count by the grace of God and sometime reformer of the Church, and William IX of Aquitaine (1088-1126), who was concerned about respect for his power, understood in a strictly temporal sense.⁸²

⁸¹ For background, Neithard Bulst, "La réforme monastique en Normandie: Étude prosopographique sur la diffusion et l'implantation de la réforme de Guillaume de Dijon," *Études Anselmiennes: Les mutations socio-culturelles au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècle* vol. 4 (1984), pp. 317-330 ; Véronique Gazeau, "Guillaume de Volpiano en Normandie: État des questions," *Tabularia "Études"* vol. 2 (2002), pp. 35-36.

⁸² At the end of the century, secular courts also awakened to secular themes carried by poetic plays. J.-Y. Tilliette, "La vie culturelle dans l'Ouest de la France au temps de Baudri de Bourgueil" in *Robert d'Arbrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'Ouest de la France. Actes du colloque de Fontevraud 13-16 décembre, 2001*, edited by Jacques Dalarun (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 71-86, here p. 77 ; Baudri de Bourgueil, *Baudri de Bourgueil. Carmina* in *Auteurs latins du Moyen âge*, edited and translated by Jean-Yves Tilliette, vol. 2 of 2 vols. (Paris, 2002), here pp. 2-43, no. 134.

Relationships between prince and bishop also altered during the long eleventh century. The Carolingian tradition of a close collaboration between royal and episcopal power had allowed a harmonious leadership of the Christian community. Thus, in Liège, the imperial bishop of the eleventh century held both a religious and a public character, since he actively participated in government.⁸³ In the Loire, the partnership of count and bishop remained strong. Nonetheless, the territorial prince could be seen to hold a true *dominium* over the bishoprics in his lands, exercised in such a way as to draw comparisons with the property rights that the count also held.⁸⁴ This *dominium* over the bishopric increased the ambiguity of division between spiritual and temporal domains, at the same time allowing lordship to benefit from a charisma linked to the spiritual realm in which the bishop worked. The bishop received from his lord the right to govern a territory, and thus his authority over lands and the souls of the Christian community living there.⁸⁵ In Anjou, control of the diocese was fundamental because of the power that bishops held: with economic and military power just less than the count's, holders of the position had the potential to provide a threat to comital power. However, from the end of the tenth century, the tradition was established that the bishop of Angers was a vassal of the count, and bishops had to receive their consecration in the comital monastery of Saint-Aubin d'Angers.⁸⁶

In practical terms, the count used the office of the episcopal see as a useful tool in his political policies. In 979 and 1006, he successively placed the heads of two viscomital lines, Renaud and Hubert, in the episcopal office, giving them a position of authority whilst removing two potential sources of competition in Anjou and Vendômois. There were further political motivations to the installation of Hubert in 1006, centred around the count's desire for territorial expansion. Hubert was a

⁸³ Jean-Louis Kupper, *Liège et l'Église impériale XI - XIII siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 109-290.

⁸⁴ Pierre Imbart de La Tour, *Les Élections épiscopales dans l'Église de France du IXe au XIIe siècle, étude sur la décadence du principe électif, 814-1150* (Paris, 1891), pp. 335-41.

⁸⁵ eg. *Actus pontificum Cenomannis in urbe degentium* eds. G. Busson and A Ledru, (Le Mans, 1901), here pp. 364-5 showing Henry I disposing of the *episcopatus* of le Mans.

⁸⁶ Jarousseau, "L'abbaye Saint-Aubin."

preeminent member of the viscountial family of Vendôme, a pro-Angevin family in the Vendômois, and the influence that this brought the count in the region supported Geoffrey Martel's move to increase and maintain his influence in this region. Once Hubert became bishop of Angers, he in turn promoted a family member, Vulgrinus, to the abbacy of the monastery of Saint-Serge d'Angers, which was held by the bishop of Angers. With his promotion to the episcopacy of le Mans in 1055, Vulgrinus became an Angevin tool in Maine.⁸⁷ Most shrewdly, however, the counts gave these bishoprics to aristocrats whose families were not local, limiting their potential to challenge comital power and ensuring their loyalty.⁸⁸

In the same way as the staffing of the episcopacy was very carefully controlled for comital benefit, control of the cathedral chapter of Angers was controlled by the appointment of canons by the count and bishop. Almost without exception, the men recruited to this institution were aristocratic, gaining their positions through nepotism or by chance of lineage. The only exception to these general rules is bishop Eusebius Bruno, whose origins are unknown. His appointment was nonetheless carried out by the count.

Towards the end of the century, however, the extension of the great monastic empires continued at the expense of other lordships, heightening tensions with these lords. Indeed, Foulon has postulated that the diminution of reforming activities in the second half of the century was due to the time and effort monastic institutions spent negotiating *calumnia* and quarrelling about temporal

⁸⁷ Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 254-5.

⁸⁸ The dangers of family monopoly of such an office became clear with the case of the Bellême control of the see of le Mans, which came to be a rival to comital power. G. Louise, *La seigneurie de Bellême, Xe - Xiiie siècles* (Flers, 1992), vol. 1, pp. 222-46; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, pp. 27 and 99-118 compare the lineages of Bellême and Château-du-Loir.

possessions, leaving them without the energy to pursue reform measures.⁸⁹ Whether or not this can be credited as a primary problem, political and successional struggles paralysed the implementation of a reform of the clergy at the time when the religious expectations of laymen proved to be increasingly demanding. Certainly, after the death of Bishop Eusebius Bruno in 1081, Anjou experienced a sudden halt in reforming policy that gave way to the primacy of political interests of rulers.⁹⁰ However, it might also be postulated that relationships changed with the spread of Gregorian reform ideologies; where previously gifts and donations had two-way associations and gifts conveyed counter-gifts, the stigmatisation of these assumptions as simoniacal in the context of this reform meant that beneficiaries could no longer assume any form of return for their grant.⁹¹ Stigmatising this traditional interaction between layman and ecclesiastic inevitably and irrevocably altered relationships in the final quarter of the eleventh century.

However, there are diocesan differences and these trends must be nuanced. In Maine, under Norman influence, ecclesiastical reform continued according to the will of William II. Angevin controlling instincts, however, remained active and were re-introduced to the region after the death of the Duke and the accession to the county of Count Helias of La Flèche (1092-1110), father-in-law of Fulk V of Anjou, complicating the task of the pro-reformist Norman bishops of the region. Further east, the archdiocese of Tours was divided between Angevin influence and

⁸⁹ Jean-Hervé Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical, rivalités politiques et exemption autour de l'an Mil: les fondations de Bourgueil et de Beaulieu-lès-Loches" in *Le pouvoir au Moyen Âge*, edited by C. Carozzi and H. Taviani-Carozzi (Aix-en-Provence, 2005), pp. 169-191.

⁹⁰ Jean-Hervé Foulon, *Église et réforme au Moyen Âge. Papauté, milieux réformateurs et ecclésiologie dans les Pays de la Loire au tournant des XIe-XIIe siècles* (Brussels, 2008), pp. 86-8.

⁹¹ Guy Jarousseau, "Le comte d'Anjou et l'application de la norme monastique: le cas de l'élection de l'abbé à Saint-Aubin d'Angers de 968 à 1027" in *Le prince et la norme. Ce que légiférer veut dire*, edited by J. Hoareau-Dodinau, G. Métairie, and P. Texier (Limoges, 2007), here pp. 350 and 368-9.

the renewal of royal authority, as well as the omnipresent desires of the counts of Blois to re-exert their influence here. We shall turn to each of these themes in turn to demonstrate the context into which the Angevin abbatial charters of election were launched.

Monasticism and Reform

Norman raids and Breton incursions had devastated the abbeys of western France.⁹² From the late tenth to the mid-eleventh century, it was the role of territorial princes, according to the Carolingian ecclesiastical vision, to ensure the sustainability of the monastic way of life, therefore to restore the liturgical function and ensure collective salvation of humanity. This duty allowed the counts to consolidate their grip on Loire monasticism.

Except for Fleury-sur-Loire and Bonneval, which remained under royal protection, the restoration of monasteries in the Loire Valley allowed the continuation of local secular influence: carried out by the count, usually with episcopal support, monastic restoration was implemented through abbots related or allied to the ruling families. For example, before May 964, Guy of Anjou (932? -995?), brother of Count Geoffrey Grisegonelle (960-987), became lay abbot of Cormery and of Villeloin in addition to the other lay abbacies he already held. In 965 he decided to terminate his lay abbacies of Saint-Aubin and Ferrières, and Villeloin received a monk of Cormery, Humbert, as its regular abbot. Guy then devoted himself to the restoration of monastic observance in his other monastic institutions, and played a prominent role in the restoration of monastic life to Saint-Aubin in 966.⁹³

⁹² Timothy Reuter, "Gifts and Simony" in *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context*, edited by E. Cohen and M. de Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 157-168 ; Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, p. 56.

⁹³ On becoming bishop of le Puy, he was the initiator of the great peace councils of Saint-Germain-Laprade in 987, where he forced the knights of his diocese to taken an oath before the synod: Louis Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle* (Paris, 1906), pp. 81-3 ; Oury, "La reconstruction monastique", here pp. 69-70. The same weight of prince and

The same pattern of monastic renewal can be observed in neighbouring principalities, when, in the late tenth century, Gauzbert (c. 990-1007), a member of the comital family of Blois, became treasurer of the monastery of Saint-Julien de Tours, which had been restored by Odo of Cluny (c. 878-942). Around 987-990 he was involved with the foundation of two large monasteries: Maillezais by William of Aquitaine and Bourgueil by the duke and his wife Emma, sister of the Count of Blois.⁹⁴ By 993, comital promotion saw Gauzbert succeed as abbot of Saint-Julien de Tours. His career continued to develop, with him becoming abbot of Marmoutier in 998 after the monks there expelled the Cluniacs. It had been the comital house of Blois that had implemented Cluniac reform of Marmoutier in 982, and it seems evident that his elevation to the abbacy here allowed the family to maintain a secure influence over the monastery in the face of an observance of growing independence.⁹⁵ Finally, between 1002 and 1004, he took charge of the monastery of La Couture du Mans, where he introduced monks of Saint-Julien de Tours.⁹⁶ One of them, Ingelbaud, became abbot on the death of Gauzbert in 1007, and so the abbey continued to fall within comital orbit, escaping episcopal control.⁹⁷ Instead, the great monastery of Saint-Vincent du Mans became the

kinship over monasticism can be seen in Normandy: Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 211-2 with fns ; Poly and Bournazel, *La mutation féodale Xe-XIIe siècles*, pp. 235-7 ; Dominique Barthélemy, *L'an mil et la paix de Dieu. La France chrétienne et féodale, 980-1060* (Paris, 1999), pp. 309-311.

⁹⁴ Véronique Gazeau, *Normannia monastica (Xe-XIIe siècle). Princes normands et abbés bénédictins. Prosopographie des abbés bénédictins* (Caen, 2007) vol. 1, pp. 29-194.

⁹⁵ See fn. 106 below.

⁹⁶ Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical", pp. 174-7. The refoundation of La Couture took place before 992: Oury, "La reconstruction monastique." Barton suggests that the motivation to refound La Couture came from bishop Segenfridus of le Mans and Abbot Gauzbert: Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, p. 67. The point remains, however, that the count had the potential to exert influence through Gauzbert, and the success of this man's career suggests comital backing.

⁹⁷ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, pp. 61-3.

episcopal burial place, competing against the comital abbey of La Couture within le Mans for influence.⁹⁸ In each of these monastic houses, Gauzbert undertook to restore Benedictine life, but counted on the support of comital power to ensure the independence of the monastery. In general, his abbeys enjoyed territorial immunity and a theoretical freedom of abbatial election, intended to prevent any simoniacal manoeuvres without eliminating the need for comital consent and, therefore, influence.

Observance

The notable absence of Cluniac houses in the Loire has been commented upon, however, this is not to say there had been no contact with Cluniac monasticism. Odo, the former dean of Saint-Martin of Tours, became the second abbot of Cluny, and in 942 sent Cluniac monks to restore the Merovingian abbey of Saint-Julien at the request of the Archbishop of Tours. However, no real affiliate link seems to have been established between this place and Cluny. In 982, at the request of Count Odo I of Blois (975-996), Maïeul of Cluny (956-994) and 13 of his monks replaced the canons of Saint-Martin at Marmoutier and restored the abbey to monastic observance.⁹⁹ From 991, a former disciple of Maïeul's held the abbacy; another of his disciples, Thibaud, a relative of the countess of Anjou, became abbot of Cormery around the year 1000.¹⁰⁰ Cluniac observance was, therefore, to be found in the region in the latter years of the tenth century, brought in to ensure worthy monastic life.

⁹⁸ Gervais du Château-du-Loir, after restoring the abbey, installed his nephew, Avesgaud, as abbot: *ibid.*, pp. 61-3.

⁹⁹ *Chartularium Abbatiae Sancti Vincentii Cenomanensis* in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Vincent du Mans (ordre de Saint Benoît)*, eds. R. Charles and M. d'Elbenne, (Le Mans, 1886-1913), cols. 16-18, nos. 13-14, and cols. 46-49, no. 62 ; Louise, *Bellême* vol. 1, pp. 283-4.

¹⁰⁰ Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Ithaca, 1991), pp. 34-5.

However, at the same time as requesting Cluniac monks to restore observance at Marmoutier, the house of Blois also appealed to Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, the closest abbey to Fleury, which had been reformed by Odo of Cluny before 938, to restore the *ordo regularis* to Saint-Père de Chartres in 954 and, around 950, to Saint-Florent-de-Saumur.¹⁰¹ The latter had been founded in the first decades of the eighth century in what is now called Saint-Florent-le-Vieil, between Angers and Nantes on the Loire. It almost certainly had holdings further East along the Loire, however, in the mid-ninth century the community moved to Blésois Saumur, possibly due to a fear of Viking raids which had reached Nantes by 843.¹⁰² Fleurian influence over monastic reform might also be suggested for Saint-Aubin and Bonneval, which were both reformed around 964-96 at the request of the Count of Anjou, Geoffrey Grisegonelle, and the king.¹⁰³ For the refoundation for Saint-Aubin, Grisegonelle had called on Hincmar, Abbot of Saint-Remi de Reims (945-967), head of a monastery that had been reformed by Gérard de Brogne (d. 959), and then by Archembaud of Fleury in 945.¹⁰⁴ This early monastic reform in the Loire was thus deeply marked by the crossed influence of ideals of Cluny and Fleury. Indeed, one

¹⁰¹ Oury, "La reconstruction monastique."

¹⁰² *Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis* in *Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou*, eds. P. Marchegay and É. Mabille, (Paris, 1869), pp. 217-328: *De monasterio sancti florentii apud salmurem castrum constructo*, pp. 231-4, *Helyas de Lyniaco, primus abbas sancti florentii salmurensis*, pp. 240-1; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 138-162.

¹⁰³ Hugh Capet is described by Geoffrey Grisegonelle as his lord, and signs the act first. M. Hamon. "Les Origines de l'Abbaye de Saint-Florent-Lès-Saumur. Histoire des monastères du Mont-Glonne et du Château de Saumur, (Ve-VIe siècle- 1026)," Thesis, Thèse de l'Ecole de Chartres, (1971); Lot suggests a date of 849 for this move Ferdinand Lot, *Recueil des travaux historiques* (Geneva, 1968-73), vol. 2, pp. 692-815.

¹⁰⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, here pp. 4-7 no. 2; Jarousseau, "L'abbaye Saint-Aubin".

of the oldest manuscript witnesses of the life of Maïeul is in the library of Saint-Aubin, where it was copied very early in the eleventh century.¹⁰⁵

However, the extent of this Cluniac influence appears to have been short-lived, with the Marmoutian severing of Cluniac links in 998 well known due to Abbo of Fleury's letters describing the monk's rebellion against Abbot Bernier, accused of adultery with a prostitute. Delivered to the comital court, the abbot challenged its jurisdiction and appealed to the judgement of the abbot of Cluny, Odilon.¹⁰⁶ This was an era in which Odilon was seeking to unify Cluniac observance and give strength to the idea of satellite subordination to the motherhouse. However, it seems that the count of Blois decided to retain an influence over Marmoutier, expelling the Cluniac monks and withdrawing the abbey from the order. Instead, Gauzbert, abbot of Saint-Julien de Tours and a relation of the comital house, took over as abbot.¹⁰⁷

After the founding work of Gauzbert, the abbey of Marmoutier took the head of the movement for monastic reform in the Loire and continued the task according to an emergent Cluniac ideal. Until around 1060, the influence and prestige of the monastery were high with comital families even outside Blois, and its inhabitants were much in demand. Thus, between 1020 and 1030, Fulk Nerra obtained two monks of Marmoutier, Baudri and Renaud, to head his new foundation of Saint-Nicholas d'Angers, before resorting to the appointment of the prior of Saint-Aubin

¹⁰⁵ Olivier Guillot, "L'abbé de Fleury Archembaud et la réforme clunisienne" in *Lumières de l'an mil en Orléanais: autour du millénaire d'Abbon de Fleury (Exposition au Musée des Beaux-Arts d'Orléans, 16 avril-11 juillet 2004)*, edited by Aurélie Bosc-Lauby and Annick Notter (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 147-8. See generally Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Agni immaculati: recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à saint Maïeul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris, 1988), p. 319 for a break-down of reforming impulses for Loire monasteries.

¹⁰⁶ Foulon, *Église et réforme*, p.70, table 1.

¹⁰⁷ See fn. 93 above.

when both ran away from the monastery under his guardianship.¹⁰⁸ Another Marmoutian, Frederick, became the abbot of Saint-Florent in the same year, and for two years was head of Saint-Julien de Tours; on his death, he was replaced at Saint-Florent by another representative of Marmoutier, Sigo (1055-1070). Despite the experiences of Marmoutian monks in Angers, in 1046, Hubert de Vendôme, bishop of Angers, summoned Vulgrinus of Marmoutier, a relative of his, to take charge of Saint-Serge d'Angers, which had been restored between 1001 and 1005. Only the reform of the monastery of Saint-Vincent du Mans, raised and dedicated in the year 1000 by Bishop Avesgaud, escaped the influence of Marmoutier. Instead, Bishop Gervais, in restoring the regular monastic observance around 1035-1055, appointed as abbot his relative Avesgaud, a monk of La Couture.¹⁰⁹

After this highpoint of monastic restoration, there were no more foundations or reforms of monasteries in the second half of the eleventh century. Instead, abbeys sought to rebuild or extend their patrimonies. The presence of Marmoutier and the formation of powerful reformed monastic institutions, such as Saint-Aubin, Saint-Nicholas d'Angers, Bourgueil, and La Trinité, formed a screen to the influence of Cluny in the Loire and after c. 1000 the presence of the abbots of Cluny also remained very episodic.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Abbo of Fleury, *Epistolae in Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 139, pp. 481B-482C, ep. 8 and 9.

¹⁰⁹ On the influence of Marmoutier, Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here p. 59 with fns. ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 177-8. On Renaud, Guillot, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 175-81.

¹¹⁰ Around 1040-1047, Odilon attended the synod where Bishop Gervais of le Mans, together with Hubert of Le Mans and the archbishop of Tours, restored to the cathedral property usurped by his family. And in 1064, Hugh of Cluny intervened, although without much success, for Abbot Barthelemy of Marmoutier, who refused Count Geoffrey le Barbu's attempts to invest him with the staff, according to the right reserved by the counts of Blois in 1044.

The consequences of this Cluniac absence are considerable. Because of the precocity of monastic recovery and of the rejection of Cluniac control, concepts of monasticism remained traditional in the Loire. If Abbot Gauzbert of Saint-Julien was an active monastic restorer, he was mainly preoccupied with reintroducing the integrity of the *RSB*. For each abbey that he reformed, his successors supported the count's protection, which enabled them to develop a policy of territorial restoration and to ensure their economic independence. The Loire is thus marked out by the absence of great ideologue abbots anxious to establish a political-monastic hegemony in the manner of the Cluniacs. Indeed, only two such men might be found for the eleventh century: Abbot Albert of Marmoutier (1032-1064), a local practitioner of a reform of investiture, and the polemical theorist, Abbot Geoffrey of Vendôme (1093-1132), at the end of the century.¹¹¹

Power

The involvement of comital houses in monastic affairs can be seen, and again, their strong association might be cited as evidence of the post-Carolingian condition of the Loire valley. The Carolingian conception of government was modelled on the role of kings in the Old Testament, who instituted God's law and ruled by God's grace.¹¹² French royal power had benefitted from the prestige accorded to it through the rite of coronation that saw God give a king his authority, allowing him to legitimate royal control over the Church. Throughout the eleventh century, Capetian royalty, much as it was weakened, conserved an ecclesiastical character, further blurring the badly traced lines between temporal and secular power.¹¹³ At

¹¹¹ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, pp. 86-7 ; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 386-8 ; on Saint-Vincent, see Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, pp. 50-1 ; Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical", pp. 171-7.

¹¹² Jean-Hervé Foulon, "Stratégies lignagères et réforme ecclésiastique, la question du lignage de Geoffroy de Vendôme (av. 1070-1132)," *Journal des savants* vol. 1, no. 1 (2001), pp. 3-41.

¹¹³ The negative view that Church patrimony was seen as an extension of the royal fisc should be nuanced. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, p. 97. For a consideration of the sacral

least part of this was maintained by means of grants of immunities and exemptions to ecclesiastical institutions, objects that had been transformed in the Carolingian world by their association with *tuitio* – protection.¹¹⁴ This promise of protection meant that kings could be legitimately involved in ecclesiastical and monastic business.

However, we must make the distinction between ecclesiastical provinces that the king controlled and those under the influence of territorial princes. By the eleventh century, control of monasteries had been inherited by heirs of the lay abbots installed by earlier rulers, or of magnates who had taken control, or else new foundations were created by lay nobles to imitate the religious patronage of the aristocracy.¹¹⁵ This imitation saw such ecclesiastical institutions become a natural part of the customary prerogatives of *potentes*. Although lacking the sacred legitimacy given by coronation, lay aristocratic elites had a theocratic aspiration that guided the social power and political dignity that they inherited.¹¹⁶ Thus, Carolingian concepts of power were adopted by all now wielding it: all power came from God, was granted by Him; even where the accession to power of a new prince or at acquisitions due to his political skill, that these were signs of the assistance of divine providence.¹¹⁷ Indeed, the association of the greatness of their power with

character of royalty in the eleventh century, Florian Mazel, *La noblesse et l'Église en Provence, fin Xe-début XIVe siècle l'exemple des familles d'Agoult-Simiane, de Baux et de Marseille* (Paris, 2002), p. 122.

¹¹⁴ Dominique Alibert, "Images de la Majesté sacrée: la mutation de l'an mille a-t-elle eu lieu?" in *Auctoritas. Mélanges offerts au professeur Olivier Guillot*, edited by Giles Constable and Michel Ruche (Paris, 2006), pp. 423-65 ; Yves Sassier, *Royauté et idéologie au Moyen âge Bas-Empire, monde franc, France, IVe-XIIe siècle* (Paris, 2002), especially pp. 181-247.

¹¹⁵ Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, chs. 5 and 6.

¹¹⁶ Mazel argues more strongly even than this, that this "theocratic vocation" was "one of the foundations of the aristocratic ethos," pushing the nobility to "taken charge of the direction of the secular church and the renewal of the monastic church." Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 372-3 ; Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, ch. 5.

¹¹⁷ Mazel, *La noblesse et l'Église*, pp. 121-3.

divine power was explicitly enhanced by reference to God, the Count of Anjou, Geoffrey Martel, not hesitating to entitle himself *Goffridus a divina providentia comes*. Ten Angevin comital charters from the eleventh century carry this mention of the grace of God, which underlines the origin of comital power, rather than its mission or purpose.¹¹⁸ This conception, which reached a quasi-royal type of government, peaked in Anjou under Geoffroy Martel. There is no reason that this should be seen as having been directed against the king: Carolingian political theory had given princes such as these neither an institutional nor theoretical basis for their power any different to that of the king, and it is therefore as likely to have been directed against lesser lords as greater.¹¹⁹ Instead, for Geoffrey Martel, it seems to have been used as a gesture of autonomy and independence in a world of fluid political balances. However, at his death, the concept seems to have become outmoded, with neither Geoffrey le Barbu nor Fulk le Réchin upholding the construction.

Monasticism in Political strategies.

Patronage from laymen and the extent of monastic landholding shows that abbeys had a central role to play in the structure of aristocratic society.¹²⁰ Through their foundation, grants of land and rights, or grants of immunities and privilege, lay interaction becomes clearer and the reasons for lay involvement show themselves in complex form.

After the restoration of ancient establishments, the first half of the eleventh century saw numerous new foundations being created, very close in style to the

¹¹⁸ Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France*, p. 217. Cf. Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1 pp. 353-5.

¹¹⁹ Geoffrey Koziol, *ibid.*, pp. 77, 81.

¹²⁰ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 39.

Carolingian family monasteries.¹²¹ These institutions saw noble families become the key providers and protectors of the resources of monasteries in return for spiritual benefits, and thus devotional and political strategies could be associated in complex ways. In Touraine, Fulk Nerra founded the monastery of Beaulieu-lès-Loches in the *pagus* of Tours in 1005 in response to the Blesois foundation of Bourgueil in Angevin territory.¹²² Nearing completion, he asked the Archbishop of Tours to consecrate the place, but was refused on the basis of the goods the count had usurped property from the Mother Church, because of his murder of Hughes de Beauvais, and probably in large part because the Archbishop was a subject of the rival house of Blois. Fulk fled to Rome as a pilgrim, and whilst there managed to gain papal agreement to the consecration of the place in return for his penance. Indeed, documents regarding Fulk's desires to have the place consecrated also show, however, in contrast to this apparently most political context, a concern with his spiritual wellbeing and a fear of Gehenna, something which Bachrach has described as "not a *topos* applied to noble laymen of military bent during the early eleventh century in Gaul..."¹²³ The court proceedings recording the debate at the papal court is highly illuminating concerning papal attitudes to such proprietary foundations at this time. Peter, the man speaking for the pope, emphasised that the property which Fulk had caused to be built was his own private, heritable

¹²¹ L. Genicot, "Empire et principautés en Lotharingie du Xe au XIIIe siècle," *Annali della fondazione italiana per la storia amministrativa*, no. 2 (1965), pp. 95-172.

¹²² The bibliography on Loches and its strategic value at this time is vast. Concerning the exemptions, political context, and papal involvement in the area and the foundation, see especially Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 118-21 and 222 with footnotes ; Bernard S. Bachrach, "Pope Sergius IV and the Foundation of the Monastery of Beaulieu-lès-Loches," *Revue bénédictine* vol. 95 (1985), pp. 240-265 ; Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical"

¹²³ Jean-Hervé Foulon, "Stratégies politiques, fondation monastique et recours à Rome vers l'an Mil: le cas de Beaulieu-lès Loches," *Revue Historique* vol. 634, no. 2 (2005), pp. 251-281, esp. pp. 269-74 on political context. See also Bachrach, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches", here pp. 243-6.

property.¹²⁴ The representations of the Archbishop of Tours, having argued that the consecration belonged to the archbishop in whose diocese the foundation lay, heard the papal representation argue that, on the contrary, that the consecration was something that followed the property rights and which only the person holding the *dominium* could arrange.¹²⁵ Thus, the papacy in the first few decades of the eleventh century regarded proprietary foundations as the property of their founders, the rights over such places belonging to these founders attached to their property rights.

Similarly, the attitude that monastic foundations formed part of a tangible patrimony pertaining to laymen, through which their enemies could punish them or maintain a foothold of influence in an opponent's territory was continued even after 1044 when Geoffrey Martel captured Touraine, the count of Blois retaining an influence at Marmoutier even as the count of Anjou managed took control of the treasury of Saint-Martin de Tours and a right to avowry at Cormery.¹²⁶

A similar policy presided over the founding of the abbey of La Trinité de Vendôme by Geoffrey Martel and his wife Agnes. Authentic religious reasons - competition with his father Fulk Nerra in matters of foundation, atonement for his incestuous marriage to Agnes, and brutality in Aquitaine and the Vendômois - almost

¹²⁴ Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical", pp. 178-80 especially. Document is Bachrach, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches", here pp. 257-8.

¹²⁵ *Sergii IV papae privilegium pro monasterio Bellilcensi* in *PL*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 139, cols. 1525A-1527B: *Tunc Petrus Dei nutu unus ex nostris datum iudici pro nos, et ad nostra vicem habere respondit: "Certe monasterium ipsum quae Fulco aedificavit sua propria haereditas fuit, et beati apostoli Petri Ecclesiam, et nostri seniori potestatis et dominii, monasterium et consecrationem perpetualiter, pro sua obtulit anima qualiter perdere a suo dominio debeat, ostendite? et nobis innotescite? Unum scio tantum, quia cujus est haereditas, ipsius et consecratio."*

¹²⁶ *PL* *ibid.* col. 1526. Concerning the sources recording this, Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 118-21 and Bachrach, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches".

certainly mingled with interesting political prospects in the Vendômois.¹²⁷ In the absence of strong comital authority in this region, Geoffrey Martel's territorial ambitions in the region collided with the pro-Blesois Bishop Gervais de Château-du-Loir (1036-67) and were constantly threatened by Norman interest in the region. Thus, many of the lands granted to the new foundation were lands of his wife, which he may have been uncertain of being able to retain if the balance of power altered.¹²⁸ Similarly, the granting of exemption in 1056, before the county of Vendôme was passed to his relative Fulk l'Oïson in 1058, allowed the count of Anjou to retain an influence in the *pagus* as traditional defender of the monastery.¹²⁹

Even pre-existing monastic houses could find themselves tangled in political machinations as both holders of land and wealth.¹³⁰ For example, the abbey of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur was at the heart of struggles between that the houses of Blois and Anjou for control of the Loire. Falling under Blois protection from its

¹²⁷ On prestigious piety, see Foulon, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches". "On the dedication: John Howe, "The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church," *The American Historical Review* vol. 93, no. 2 (1988), pp. 317-339, here p. 334.

¹²⁸ Cf. *Annales Vindocinenses*, in *Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendômoises*, ed. L. Halphen, (Paris, 1903), pp. 50-79, here p. 61 ; *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, (Paris, 1913), here pp. 150-1 ; *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis* in *Cartulaire de l'abbaye cardinale de la Trinité de Vendôme*, ed. C. Metais, (Paris), here pp. 55-60, no. 35; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 386-96.

¹²⁹ Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, p. 165. Barthélemy, *La Société*, 386-96. The gesture aroused the count of Vendôme's hostility to the Angevin foundation and usurpations of the small Gâtine lords after the death of Geoffrey Martel. As a result, after 1084, La Trinité embarked on a campaign of editing false privileges and interpolating or rewriting the foundation charters to ensure their immunity claim exemptions: Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical", pp. 251-81.

¹³⁰ Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 403-10 ; *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, here pp. 61-84, nos. 36-8 and introduction regarding these charters as forgeries.

restoration in 950, the conquest of Saumur by Fulk Nerra in 1026 earned the monastery the confiscation of its property in the Saumurois, estates that were only retrieved in 1067.¹³¹ After 1030, the abbey was attached to the diocese of Angers and completely assimilated into Anjou. In a move similar to that seen in La Trinité several decades later, c. 1026-44, the monks produced a series of false charters stating their exemption from comital customs and their right to free abbatial elections as a bid to escape political manoeuvrings.¹³²

At times of territorial conflict, such as that surrounding Saint-Florent in the early decades of the eleventh century, abbatial successions could become hotly contested issues. In Maine, c. 1073-81, the elevation of the abbot of La Couture was a point of contention between the count of Anjou and duke of Normandy, who had just seized the bishopric. William the Conqueror therefore imprisoned the new abbot, Renaud, and installed instead the prior, his *fidelis*. Renaud escaped and turned to the Archbishop of Tours to protest at the situation, leading to the Archbishop suspending the new abbot and the pro-Norman bishop of le Mans in response. Renaud later tried to recover his abbacy by force, prompting William the Conqueror to complain to Pope Gregory VII, who excommunicated Renaud and the count of Anjou for their actions, and lifted the excommunication on William's abbot and the bishop of Le Mans.¹³³ As part of their wider political policies, then, the

¹³¹ White, *Custom, Kinship*, p. 79.

¹³² Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 353-5; *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale Saint-Maurice d'Angers*, ed. C. Urseau, (Angers, 1908), here pp. 93-4, no. 45; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 126-8, no. 31 concerning the reestablishment of the church in Saumur by Bishop Hubert of Angers; M. Hamon, "La vie de saint Florent et les origines de l'abbaye du Mont Glonne, Saint-Florent-le-Vieil," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* vol. 129, no. 2 (1971), pp. 215-38; William Ziezulewicz, "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (ca. 950-1118)," *Church History* vol. 57, no. 3 (1988), pp. 289-97; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 75-6; for similar additions made to documents of Bourgueil after 1044, Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical", pp. 176-7.

¹³³ Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, p. 72.

appointment of bishops and abbots was a very important issue for territorial princes.

Grants

There were other reasons for aristocratic interest in monasteries, though. Grants of freedoms and immunities were claimed by houses seeking to extricate themselves from a political situation deemed to be unfavourable, however, these donations could also be given freely by lay lords as gestures of piety and in order to win religious favour. Immunities were legal grants of dispensation whereby the issuer ordered that the peace and security of a named beneficiary within a designated territory be respected, and that punishments would await transgressors. An exemption was an alternative or additional form of privilege by which a ruler freed recipients from specific responsibilities or duties to which they would otherwise have been subject. In addition to grants of land and rights from external, and internal, donors, these mechanisms formed part of a system that enmeshed monasteries with lay rulers.

It might be assumed that the granting of land or such benefits might have deprived the giver, donors effectively giving away power and sources of wealth.¹³⁴ However, the transactions were more supple and less one-sided than such interpretations allow. Rosenwein has pointed to the introduction of the terms *tuitio* and *defensio* into grants of immunity by Carolingian monarchs as mechanisms which altered such grants, from being means by which kings and bishops could set themselves up as defenders of monastic communities and thereby create useful alliances with these sources of divine power, to means that allowed grantors to exert positive control over the communities receiving benefits.¹³⁵ The implications were not just

¹³⁴ See J.-M. Bienvenu. "Recherches sur le diocèse d'Angers au temps de la réforme grégorienne," Thesis, Paris-Sorbonne, (1968), pp. 152-67.

¹³⁵ *Annales Vindocinenses*, ed. Halphen, pp. 50-79, here p. 61 ; *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, vol. 1, pp. 55-60, no. 35.

protection for the recipients of grants, but also allowed an additional element of guardianship to slip into the grants, allowing the grantor a right to supervise, as well as safeguard, the beneficiary.

The value and interest in this guardianship must be considered. Before the emergence of familial castles, monasteries acted as focal points for noble, landowning families, and gave them degrees of both unity and identity.¹³⁶ Gifts of land and rights acted to establish and confirm relationships, but also required counter-gifts, which could take the form of spiritual return, or use of land in usufruct.¹³⁷ By exchanging lands with an abbey, donating lands in return for a counter-gift or land in *precaria*, holdings could be consolidated or new areas of authority could be established, whilst the threats of dissolution of familial landholdings due to practices of co-heritance were countered.¹³⁸ Many examples of families unwilling to relinquish lands held in *precaria* for a certain number of lifetimes or donated by relatives have demonstrated the potential for families to re-adopt lands they had formerly owned.¹³⁹

Susan Reynolds has famously argued that interpersonal bonds had no determining role in constituting medieval societies; however, viewing donations and exchanges as methods of constituting political relationships better helps demonstrate the role that monastic institutions played in medieval society.¹⁴⁰ Foulon has argued that in the eleventh century, all acquisitions by monasteries retained a patrimonial aspect: whether churches or land were being donated or ceded, both were intended to

¹³⁶ Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space*, pp. 5-9 with fns. for summary and examples.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.* eg. pp. 22, 110-2; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 251-9 on "immunity-defence".

¹³⁸ Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, pp. 5-7 ; Cohen, "Introduction", p. 7.

¹³⁹ Nightingale, *ibid.*, pp. 6-9, 40-1. points to the dangers of co-inheritance as a major reason for donations of land and cites inheritance strategies as the central reason for donations in the Carolingian world.

¹⁴⁰ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 150-3.

provide income to their owners.¹⁴¹ This income was intended to ensure the daily life of the monks there and the wealth of the monastery, allowing it to better fulfil its obligation to society of praying for the salvation of the community. In making these donations to this end, lay people were fulfilling their duty to use their earthly wealth to assist the saints, and to protect and defend and enable the work carried on by monks in their houses. It was, indeed, the duty of lay lords to obey God's commands to give alms and for lords and knights demonstrate their generosity and largesse.¹⁴² The fact that so many donations were granted in the tenth and eleventh centuries suggests that it was expected of those with the ability to do so, this largesse being part of the duty of lords and knights.¹⁴³

Counter-gifts realised by donations and grants cannot, however, be assessed at economic market value in France.¹⁴⁴ By fulfilling needs associated with death – burial, prayers, memorials, salvation, etc. – in return for gifts, the notion of posthumous attainment of salvation is evident in society. More, the monastic role in attaining this is presupposed: saintly beneficiaries, represented on earth by an undying community of celibate monks, held the gifts forever and in return for perpetual gifts to the saints, benefactors expected or requested monastic intercession upon their death. The gift to the monastic house's patron saint thus established an on-going relationship between benefactor and house that linked the benefactor to the saints and thereon God, through the mediation of the monks of the community. The charters preserved or copied by monasteries recording donations and grants speak of standard lay motivations for the gifts based on

¹⁴¹ Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, pp. 6-7 with fns. ; White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 146-9. On Paul Fouracre's concept that income was to provide lighting for churches, Reynolds, *Fiefs and vassals : the medieval evidence reinterpreted*, p. 476 ; described in White, "Politics of Exchange", pp. 171-2.

¹⁴² Paul J. Fouracre, "Eternal Light and Earthly Needs: Practical Aspects of the Development of Frankish Immunities" in *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 53-81.

¹⁴³ Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 80-3.

¹⁴⁴ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 174-5 with fns.

Christian teachings of remorse for sins and desire for salvation and the attainment of heaven, hence deeds recording donations repeatedly mention their purpose as *pro remedio animae*.¹⁴⁵ Expression of this desire and the consistent directing of them to monasteries and communities of monks is an indication of the role of monastic communities were to play in society, to pray and intercede with the saints for the salvation of specific patrons and the Christian community at large.¹⁴⁶ This was anticipated and expected, as was the role of lordly benefactors to provide the monks with requirements for their material support and protection. In this way, these moments of interaction between lay lords and ecclesiastical institutions reinforced the structure of this medieval society.¹⁴⁷

More than this, however, it will be suggested that the documents of election below were designed to demonstrate possession and domination through rights claimed over the process of abbatial successions. Thus the structure of society was not only being reinforced, but actively pressed upon the situation. Where involvement in

¹⁴⁵ Georges Duby, *The Early Growth of the European economy: Warriors and Peasants from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century* [*Guerriers et paysans vii-xiie siècle*, translated by Howard B. Clarke] (London, 1974), pp. 51-7, 66-9, 230-3.

¹⁴⁶ Abbots or monks could encourage these laudable sentiments, eg. , *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge* (Rome, 2005); *Chartularium Abbatiae Sancti Vincentii Cenomanensis*, eds. Charles and d'Elbenne, here pp. 290-2, no. 502 and pp. 364-5, no. 630.

¹⁴⁷ On structuralist views, Wendy Davies, "Buying with masses: "donation" pro remedio animae in tenth-century Galicia and Castile-León" in *Sauver son âme et se perpétuer. Transmission du patrimoine et mémoire au haut Moyen Âge*, edited by Cristina la Rocca François Bougard, Régine le Jan (Rome, 2005), pp. 401-16 ; Arnold Angenendt et al., "Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages" in *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, edited by Bernhard Jussen (Philadelphia, 2000), pp. 15-54, here pp. 35-8 ; Eliana Magnani, "Du don aux églises au don pour le salut de l'âme en Occident (ive-xie siècle): le paradigme eucharistique," *Bulletin du centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre special issue no. 2* (2008), pp. 1021-42 ; Foulon, "Pouvoir pontifical" on the princes' responsibility for this salvation.

such proceedings had been a part of the duties expected of a Carolingian lord or king, it will be suggested that those documents below written in the voice of the count acted not only to conform to expected modes of lordly behaviour by generously granting rights, but obversely, also here allowed the lord to claim his authority by conforming to such models. In this way, these grants became the Weberian “status contracts” that White has perceived in gifts to saints, resulting from the permanent changes in the social statuses of the contracting parties.¹⁴⁸ Where nobles maintained their prestige and contacts with others through lavish generosity, exchanging land with a monastic institution could exchange it for what has been termed “symbolic capital,” influence and a projection of authority and virtuousness that could be reconverted into more tangible forms of lordly power.

It is also important to emphasise the credit that carrying out such transactions with monastic communities brought. It is evident that the moments of transactions established relationships between lord and a religious community with heavenly influence, that the benefactor procured certain spiritual benefits from the relationship. However, as a function of lordship, the symbolic capital that was created might be allied to an intangible element of lordship, that of charisma. Where Carolingian government had seen this as something that came to kingship through the rite of coronation, in this post-Carolingian world, the Angevin counts of the late tenth- and early eleventh-centuries used their domination within monastic affairs and their conformation to acts of lordly behaviour vis-à-vis monastic houses to assume a religious charisma that marked their authority out in society. It might thus be suggested that imitation of the behaviour of higher lords was a means by which comital legitimacy could be earned or displayed, and that subsequent imitation of comital practices of donation and relationships with

¹⁴⁸ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and function in primitive society : essays and addresses*, (1965), pp. 10-11 ; Jeremy Fergus Boissevain, *Friends of Friends: Networks, Manipulators and Coalitions* (Oxford, 1974) introduction concerning groups defined by status and role; Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, pp. 149-70. White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 4-5 ; Stephen White cites Anthony T. Kronman, *Max Weber* (London, 1983), pp. 96-117.

monastic houses was a means by which lesser lords could begin to make their mark on the social landscape. It is first necessary to consider patterns of donation in order to realise if such theories tally with the evidence available.

Patterns of Donation

There is an unusually plentiful supply of charter documents for the abbey of Saint-Aubin d'Angers for the 100 years between the mid- eleventh and mid- twelfth century.¹⁴⁹ These numbers reflect the growth and enrichment of the establishment in the eleventh and early twelfth century, a pattern reflected in the monastic houses of Marmoutier, La Trinité de Vendôme, and Saint Vincent du Mans, before a period of maintenance ensued in each.¹⁵⁰

The cartulary that accounts for a large majority of these known donations is organised into chapters, the first three gathering together charters from important personages, the count of Anjou, the king, and the bishops of Angers, in that order, before listing the charters of election, and then collecting together documents according to the area or holding that they pertained to. This latter group numbers 30 locations where the monastery had interests. In all, charters concerning donations from important figures, the first three chapters, number 20 documents; this contrasts with 360 charters relating to other properties and privileges from less notable persons in the cartulary.¹⁵¹

This division reflects the status make-up of donors to the monastery; in the case of all four influential houses of the region, senior figures in the form of the counts of Anjou, and Blois, and the dukes of Normandy were prominent donors. However,

¹⁴⁹ Cohen, "Introduction".

¹⁵⁰ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 212-3 table 3-1A cites 457 transactions, mostly concentrated in the period 1050-1174.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 214-15, 218-21., tables 3-1B, 3-1D and E for period 760-c.1175. The majority date to c. 1000-1150.

the vast majority of donors were vassals of these men and local lords, for example the Fulcherides in the southern part of the Vendômois. A further pattern can be discerned in the timeline of donations, which shows that if in the tenth century great lords were predominantly responsible for restoring ruined monasteries and granting them the economic resources to support themselves, the number of charters granted by lower nobles in the early cartulary of Saint-Aubin demonstrates a move in the first three quarters of the eleventh century for chatelaine and knightly benefactors to form relationships with monastic houses through gift-giving. Thus, although the special patronage of territorial princes, the counts of Anjou, may have continued throughout the long eleventh century, the period from restoration to the mid-eleventh century saw the acquisition of lordly or knightly patrons from various regions. A substantial number of these persons were followers of the comital family who may have been imitating or supporting the donations of their overlords.¹⁵² But juxtaposition of landholdings may also have brought families of lesser status into contact with monasteries; or a donation of precarial land which allowed families to maintain use of the property for a defined period of time may well have provided some degree of security for family branches against claims from within their kinship.¹⁵³

There are also a few examples of gifts made by townspeople and people of much lower status to Saint-Aubin.¹⁵⁴ Prominently described by many donors of all statuses, however, are motivations concerning the desire for salvation. Before 1075, donations seem to have been pious gestures rather than being connected to any great reforming ardour. Thus, in the years before the middle of the eleventh century, little seems to have differentiated donations of churches from donations

¹⁵² *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1.

¹⁵³ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 129-62, esp. 138-65.

¹⁵⁴ egs. Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, pp. 51-3 ; White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 54, 62, 115, 121, 137 etc.

of wealth, secular lands or rights donated *pro remedio animae*.¹⁵⁵ The timeline of these patterns of donation suggest that the rapid expansion of possessions and rights was connected to the restoration of regular observance by great lords in the late tenth to early eleventh centuries.¹⁵⁶ In this way, a good half of churches had been already recovered by monasteries before reformist complaints of detention of church property by the laity came to form a serious movement.¹⁵⁷ In Anjou, 50 churches were recovered before 1050, 38 from 1050 to 1082, 30 from 1082 to 1094, and 41 from 1095 to 1125.¹⁵⁸

Similar patterns appear to have been the norm for surrounding regions.¹⁵⁹ In the absence of persuasive reformist rhetoric, the scale of such gifts suggests a desire by lesser lords to mimic the actions of their overlords, and to build relationships with these great monastic houses. But they also suggest that donations could be self-perpetuating: priories, located throughout the region and beyond, allowed effective temporal administration and could bring spiritual influence. In this

¹⁵⁵ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1: *rustici*: pp. 291-2. no. 246, pp. 299-300 no. 258; *burgenses*: pp. 384-5 no. 336. (1046); cf. *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, vol. 1, pp. 117-8, no. 62.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, pp. 394-5, no. 545. Nightingale has gone so far as to suggest for the Gorze in the tenth century, that it was the monastery's relationships with networks of lesser nobles that proved key to the house's survival and vigour; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 365-86.

¹⁵⁷ *Id est*, before papal legate Amat pronounced the roman decretals of 1075 at the Council of Poitiers of 1078. Nightingale, *Monasteries and patrons*, p. 173.

¹⁵⁸ *Canones Concilium Pictavense in Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 20 (Florence, 1692-1769), col. 495-500.

¹⁵⁹ In the diocese of Tours, 33 churches out of a total of 65 were donated before 1078: Bienvenu, "Recherches," appendices and maps 13-15. Bienvenu indicates that 150 churches were recovered by monasteries in the eleventh century. In the Vendômois, 10 churches were recovered before 1060, and ten others between 1076 and 1100, with only 4 after 1100: B. Chevalier, "Les restitutions d'églises dans le diocèse de Tours du Xe au XIIe siècle" in *Études de civilisation médiévale. Mélanges offerts à E.-R. Labande* (Poitiers, 1974), pp. 129-43.

context, a more internalised and personal understanding of Christianity was able to develop and reach many levels of society, prompting actions designed to benefit personal and familial salvation. Only towards the final decades of the eleventh century were churches defined as independent jurisdictional spheres in relation to the local or castellan lordship. With the distinction between altar and privileges of safety for the church's property and rights, churches could become central to the organisation of monastic patrimonies, leading to a desire to reorganise and consolidate around the church the various rights pertaining to it.¹⁶⁰

Using Charters

The political framework in which charters are suggested to have acted helps to explain the frequency with which monastic houses are involved: because of their close association with powerful families, on many occasions politics could be played out in efforts to control monasteries or establish alliances with them, and with their associated lay supporters. Thus any diploma issued for an ecclesiastical foundation had very specific political stakes. Rulers commanded power due to their ability to impose themselves on rivals and dissenters, and much of this success depended upon a leader's ability to pull together a team of supporters. Grants and benefactions made in charters marked the successful forging of ties with a group, and charter texts in many cases represent these exchanges as a sign of largesse and lordly virtue, but also as a political strategy for winning support and maintaining and reproducing the whole political regime.¹⁶¹ Leaders did this not only by harnessing support and creating alliances, but also by confirming ancestor's diplomas for ecclesiastical houses associated with past victories and allies, often in verbatim terms. Through such actions, they allied themselves to this historical strength in lineage and augmented the vigour of their own actions by association to past ones.

¹⁶⁰ Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 410-12.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 408-10.

However, by the tenth and early eleventh centuries, the formal distinctions between public acts and private acts written by monastic recipients became blurred and scribes were left to explain, illustrate, and justify the actions contained in the acts.¹⁶² These were documents that recorded decisions made rather than effecting the changes themselves. The result in the Loire region was the development of a highly significant series of “charter-notices,” particularly at Marmoutier, Saint-Aubin, and La Trinité de Vendôme, but also elsewhere in the west of France.¹⁶³ These documents followed a greater flexibility in composition, abandoning the formulas that had previously been copied word for word, and embracing a much more narrative style. The explanatory digressions that thereby came to be a feature of notices have provided much information for historians interested in the functioning of society at this moment. Whether by hazard or intent, extant notices for the majority deal with disputes or legal moments featuring lay lords, and we therefore have more glimpses of aristocratic society and its interaction with the Church institutions who recorded these moments for the period around 1100 than at any point prior, when the more legally precise documents were being produced.¹⁶⁴

Of course, the more fluid notice of this period have been cited as an indication of the decline of documentary standards during the upheaval of societal changes in the face of sudden feudalisation. However, Bruno Lemesle’s detailed exploration of charters and notices included in the monastic and episcopal cartularies of Saint-

¹⁶² On “public” and “private” acts see White, “Politics of Exchange”, pp. 171-2.

¹⁶³ Duby pointed to their progressive appearance from 1030: Declercq, “Originals and Cartularies”, pp. 262-266 ; Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale*, pp. 103-4, 116. He dates the appearance of these acts to the years after 1040, and especially, in the case of Marmoutier, to the period after 1060. For Marmoutier, Duby, *La société* p. 9 ; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 30-2.

¹⁶⁴ Barthélemy, *ibid.*, pp. 84-101. Barthélemy, “Note sur ”; R. H. Britnell, *Pragmatic literacy, east and west, 1200-1330* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1997); Heidecker, *Charters*. Heideker points to the ambiguity of the term “notice,” and especially criticises the systematic opposition of the notice to the charter by diplomatic of the “private act.”

Aubin d'Angers, Saint-Florent de Saumur, and Saint-Serge written in Anjou during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, shows the variety of narration and flexibility of composition taking place in contemporary documents. This seems to indicate rather an expansion in the practice of writing rather than a decline, and is backed up by evidence of the exponential growth in the number of written instruments extant after 1060. For many monastic houses, no acts exist for the tenth century at all, sometimes due to the ruined state of individual monasteries, and only a small number exist from between c. 1000 and 1060. After 1060, however, the number of acts flourishes. This pattern of archival evidence exists for most of the great Benedictine houses of the Loire valley, including Marmoutier, Saint-Aubin d'Angers, La Trinité de Vendôme, Saint-Serge d'Angers, and Saint-Florent de Saumur.¹⁶⁵

Alongside this expansion of the practice of writing came a development of the inclusion of witness lists at the end of the documents. From c. 1040 the traditional corroborations, "by our own hand," i.e. with autograph crosses, gave way on some occasions to lists of witnesses, people named as being such or having been present at the action being recorded, and sometimes grouped according to status.¹⁶⁶ Barthélemy's work on these changes suggests that autograph crosses were intended to give force to documents; used with elaborate formulas of introduction, they contained implicit powers of malediction, and could be seen as analogous to an oath as regarded the author's sincerity of intent. The increase of witness lists, on the other hand, listed not only those who may have given testimony in the narratives of the document, but also those who could testify to events in the future,

¹⁶⁵ Barthélemy, *ibid.*, p. 31. As an example, the number of acts extant for le Haut-Maine before 1200 has been calculated to be 1563, and would undoubtedly number many more if the numbers of neighbouring regions were added: Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? ", here pp. 99-101 ; Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, p. 14 enumerates recorded gifts to the significant monasteries of western France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, giving some idea of the size of the evidence base given by this genre of source.

¹⁶⁶ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 212-27 cites many examples from the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin.

a form of protection or “contingency” plan for the religious institution concerned.¹⁶⁷ Declercq has postulated that with the initiative for the drafting of a written document moving from the initiator of the action to the benefactor, the most important element of the document for the recipient were the names of the witnesses who could be called upon to testify in the case of a dispute, and this is why summary *notitiae* became the favoured form for recording legal matters, rather than the formal *cartae*.¹⁶⁸ It seems, thus, as though these documents were designed to be functional tools of defence against any subsequent disputes. Indeed, the late tenth and eleventh centuries saw a great expansion of the area of land under control of monasteries, and this function of the named witnesses may reflect a need to protect these properties.

The Cartulary of Saint-Aubin d’Angers

The commencement of work on the cartulary of Saint-Aubin can be dated to the end of the eleventh century. All the charters of election concerning this institution, covering accessions that took place between 968 and 1082, were copied into the cartulary by the first, and most prolific, hand of the cartulary and collected into one dedicated chapter whose contents are listed on the first folio of the chapter.¹⁶⁹ The chapter titles itself *Cartae de electione abbatum*, and for the sake of convenience, as well as to acknowledge this, I shall use the term charter as suggested by Guyotjeannin et al., to refer to any document that records the transfer or

¹⁶⁷ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, pp. 51-76.

¹⁶⁸ Barthélemy, “Une crise de l’écrit? ”, here pp. 104-7.

¹⁶⁹ There are three main hands in the ms. The most prolific of these, and the one that transcribed the charters used here, transcribed 21 of the 34 titled chapters that the ms. contains. The second hand seems to have transcribed six chapters and made certain additions to chapters in the first hand. The third hand is slightly later, to judge from the early gothic signs, and has included various acts, most notably the chapter on Brossay (fols. 47-50).

confirmation of property rights or privileges, or any other type of legal transaction.¹⁷⁰

This chapter is the fourth in the cartulary, following chapters collecting charters granted by the count, the king, and the bishops of Anjou. Fol. 7r^o seems to have acted as a contents page to the chapter, and the pre-prepared rubrications at the top of fol. 11 reading *Cartae de electione* gives a strong indication that the scribe expected further and future electoral charters to be copied into the volume after his initial entries were made. This method of giving the texts their own dedicated space and rubricated chapter heading to make their location quick and easy implies not only a duty of record, but an expectation that they might be consulted by future readers. It can therefore be said with some certainty that accessions were deemed to be politically important moments when the cartulary was being compiled.¹⁷¹

However, the election of the first abbot after 1082 whose elevation was not recorded in this format took place in 1106, and so it seems that successions from this point were not viewed in the same light as they had previously been. Guillot has suggested that the date of the chapter's original transcription, or at least the work of the first hand, can be narrowed further, to some time before 1095.¹⁷² This can be seen from a copy of a donation made by Thibaud de Jarzé with the confirmation of Count Geoffroy le Barbu found on fols. 85-6.¹⁷³ An extract of this same document copied elsewhere and bearing the autograph cross of the count also bears the confirmation of a further gift made on 25th September 1098 by Thibaud "l'Enfant," grandson of the above-mentioned Thibaud de Jarzé. This act

¹⁷⁰ Declercq, "Originals and Cartularies", pp. 162-3. For the technical terminology of charter diplomatic, see also Guyotjeannin et al., *Diplomatique médiévale*, pp. 103-18.

¹⁷¹ Davies and Fouracre, *Settlement of Disputes*, p. 270.

¹⁷² Olivier Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture before the Investiture Struggle in Anjou, Normandy, and England," *The Haskins Society Journal* vol. 3 (1991), pp. 81-100, here p. 83.

¹⁷³ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, Appendix I, vol. 1, pp. 442-3 with footnotes.

confirmed the donations made to Saint-Aubin by his predecessors, but the scribe of the electoral charters in the cartulary of Saint-Aubin did not copy this complementary act into the cartulary, which suggests that the transcription of the earlier act of Thibaud de Jarzé into the cartulary had been made prior to the later confirmation being made. This indicates that the first hand stopped writing before 1098. Further evidence can be found in the cartulary's chapter concerning Brion.¹⁷⁴ A charter here describes the gift of a tithe made by a Raoul *Toarendus* and relates how the sick donor asked Aldulfus of Brion to take the donation to Saint-Aubin in Angers for him and how, once the donation was made by proxy, the monks of Saint-Aubin obtained confirmation from the son of Raoul. The notice adds that the monks gave to Raoul 100 sous in recognition of his goodwill. This is where the notice in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin ends, without a date. In the Cartulary of Brion, on the other hand, after this donation from Raoul there is a notice recounting that on 6th January 1095 Raoul *Thoarendus*, having recovered, came himself to Saint-Aubin to confirm the donation and receive a silver goblet.¹⁷⁵ This is a convenient finale to the episode, and it seems unlikely that the scribe of the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin would have neglected to include it if it were known, but only because such the thing had not yet taken place at the time he copied the initial charter into the monastery's cartulary. Although not absolute proofs, these two omissions make it likely that the earliest sections of the cartulary were composed before 1095.¹⁷⁶

As for the work of the first hand, the latest acts written in the cartulary by the hand which copied the charters of election into the cartulary concern events which took place in 1087.¹⁷⁷ This is the date that Guy Jarousseau, in his study of the early

¹⁷⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 310-1 no. 269.

¹⁷⁵ *Cartulary of Brion*, ms. H 224, Arch. dép. de M.-et.-L., fol. 15.

¹⁷⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 449-51 no. 341.

¹⁷⁷ There are four charters from this date copied by the first hand, to be found on fol. 3, fol. 61, fol. 64, and fols. 74-5.

charters to 1027, used as the end date by which he stated that most of the cartulary had been copied by, almost certainly assuming the later charters the first hand was copying into the cartulary were exactly contemporary to their being recorded in the cartulary.¹⁷⁸ He explained the lack of electoral charters after this date as being the result of the introduction of a Gregorian reform into the monastery in 1096 by a bull of Urban II (1088-1099) and the introduction of a standard reformed electoral procedure that made the records of elections in this manner unnecessary.¹⁷⁹

The charters of election pertaining to the monastery of le Ronceray, a female religious community in Angers, were copied into their cartulary also. Unfortunately, the original was destroyed in 1793, but there exists a thirteenth-century copy on six parchment rolls in the Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers.¹⁸⁰ The final charter for which a manuscript is extant is an original document, or contemporary copy, on a slip of parchment in the Archives départementales de Maine-et-Loire, ms. H 1910. This document pertains to the 1055 abbatial succession in Saint-Florent-de-Saumur and is the only known electoral charter to still exist in this form.

Erasures

The introduction of Urban II's bull and a less moderate version of Church reform in 1096 provides a convenient end-date for this study, marking the start of increased

¹⁷⁸ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 442-3.

¹⁷⁹ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 351.

¹⁸⁰ Bib. Mun. d'Angers, mss. 844-848. Printed edition is *Cartulary of the Abbey of du Ronceray d'Angers* in *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye du Ronceray d'Angers (1028-1184)*, ed. with transcription and analysis by P. Marchegay and B. de Broussillon, (Paris and Angers, 1900). There is another printed edition of this work, *Cartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae Caritatis Andegavensis*, ed. Marchegay (Angers, 1854). This does not follow the order of the acts in the cartulary rolls, but organizes them into geographical region and occasionally by type of donation.

papal intervention in Anjou. But this date and the events around it also help mark the appearance of new theories on the lay-monastic relationships in the Loire which may have altered the appearance of the charters of election in the Cartulary.

There are, in the copies of the charters of election that appear in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin some areas which have been effaced, where the original script has been scratched away in order to remove the information that was written at these points. In each of the early charters, those pertaining to events between 968 and 1027, the name of the count at the start of the *dispositio*, where he appears acting in on these occasions of abbatial elevations, has been scratched out. That the erasures all occurred around the same place in the charters and removed the same concepts each time they appeared in the acts suggests that the deletions were made by the same person and all on one occasion. Fanning's analysis of the situation was that the deletions had been carried out by a twelfth-century monk for whom the lack of a procedure which allowed the monks to elect their own abbot was offensive.¹⁸¹ However, a consideration of the charter pertaining to an abbatial succession of 988 suggests that Fanning's analysis is not entirely accurate. This charter, which followed a different formula to the other earlier charters, attested to a slightly different successional procedure to other early successions, namely the selection and appointment of a new abbot by his predecessor. In this case, the names of the count who appointed the outgoing abbot and the succeeding abbot were removed, suggesting that not even an electoral procedure internal to the abbey appeased the editor.

This form of abbatial delegation by predecessor was not a controversial moderate reform, indeed, its use at the famous reformed house of Cluny as the most common form of succession in the tenth century would have lent it a certain legitimacy. In 926 Abbot Berno designated Odo, and Maïeul is known to have designated his

¹⁸¹ *Cartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae Caritatis Andegavensis* in *Archives d'Anjou. Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province*, ed. P. Marchegay, vol. 1 (Angers, 1854).

successor, Odilon, in 996.¹⁸² Jarousseau has argued that the links between Saint-Aubin and Cluny, notably the reintroduction of monastic life by Abbot Hincmar of Saint-Remi de Reims, an abbey reformed in 945 by Abbot Archembaud and monks of Fleury, which had itself taken Odo of Cluny as its abbot between 931 and 938, can explain the familiarity and use of this type of election in Saint-Aubin d'Angers in 988.¹⁸³ The removal of the names of those involved from the charters, including that concerning 988, thus indicates that the removals were probably made at the time of a stricter form of reform to Saint-Aubin that sought to outlaw lay appearances on these occasions altogether. Thus the editor seems to have taken offence rather at electoral procedures that were direct delegations, no matter who was delegating, and with this reasoning in mind it becomes possible to date the removal of the name of the delegator in each of these charters.

This might logically be supposed to have happened with the introduction of what might be termed standard Gregorian reformist thought to the monastery of Saint-Aubin. It is possible to estimate when something like this occurred in the monastery of Saint-Aubin: as these charters of election were copied into the cartulary of Saint-Aubin between 1087 and 1095, abbatial accessions taking place by delegation cannot have been deemed inappropriate at this date, at least internally to the monastery and for the scribes copying the charters into the cartulary. The next abbatial succession in Saint-Aubin after 1082 took place in 1106, and the lack of a charter to record it in the fashion of its predecessors suggests strongly that the moment was not considered in the same way as it had been in 1082, or in 1095, the latest date at which the charters might have been copied into the cartulary.

¹⁸² Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 73, fn. 82 ; , *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny* eds. A. Bernard and A. Bruel, (Paris, 1876-1903), here vol. 2 (1880), pp. 1-2, no. 883, and vol. 3 (1883), p. 174, no. 1957.

¹⁸³ Dubois' analysis, J. Dubois, "De la nomination par le prédécesseur à l'élection par les moines: Cluny aux Xe et XIe siècles" in *Les élections dans l'Église latine, des origines au XVIe siècle*, edited by J. Gaudemet (Paris, 1979), pp. 221-5 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 144-5, 147.

The notable event in Anjou in these years was the visit by Urban II in 1096 during which he offered to consecrate the altar of the abbey of Saint-Aubin. The refusal of the monks to accept this honour caused something of a scandal locally, and the situation has been read by Guillot as a “rear-guard action” over the subject of the practice of abbatial elections in Saint-Aubin and comital involvement in them.¹⁸⁴ However, the existence of a bull granted to the foundation in April of the same year indicates that there must have been divisions within the monastic community, and Pailloux has suggested that the time between the rejection and the issuing of the bull demonstrates that it took some time for the monastic community to come to agreement concerning a new papal alliance.¹⁸⁵ Abbot Girard, who appears to have led this minority faction in the monastery of Saint-Aubin, with the support of the monastic papal legate Milon, applied to the pope for a grant of immunities early in 1096. Although this was refused on his first application, it was granted two months later when the pope was in Saintes, in April 1096. This charter put the abbey under

¹⁸⁴ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 357 : *Anno MXCV papa Romanus nomine Urbanus, post concilium apud Clarum Montem civitatem ab eo cum innumerabilibus personis episcoporum et abbatem celebratum, apud Andecavum urbem descendit et ecclesiam sancti Nicholai consecravit. Monachi enim sancti Albini ut sua ecclesia consecraretur nolerunt, pro qua re maxime papa venerat, adductus a Milone, antea beati Albini monacho, tunc temporis legato suo. Annales dites de Renaud, in Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises, ed. L. Halphen, (Paris, 1903), pp. 80-90, here p. 89 ; Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here pp. 94-5.*

¹⁸⁵ Jean-Hervé Foulon, "Les Relations entre la papauté réformatrice et les pays de la Loire jusqu'à la fondation de Fontevraud" in *Robert d'Arbrissel et la vie religieuse dans l'Ouest de la France. Actes du colloque de Fontevraud 13-16 décembre, 2001*, edited by Jacques Dalarun (Turnhout, 2004), pp. 25-56, here pp. 43-4 ; see also Cécile Pailloux. "Les Elections abbatiales en l'abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers au XIe siècle," Thesis, Université catholique de l'Ouest, (1989), pp. 72-3.

papal protection and ruled on the form that abbatial elections were henceforth to take.¹⁸⁶

Pailloux, following Guillot, regarded the rejection of papal authority over the monastery by some of the monks of Saint-Aubin as having material roots rather than being a statement of opposition to the reform being promoted by the papacy, and indeed the context of the period appears to strongly support this theory.¹⁸⁷ Indeed, Foulon pointed to the act as not being particularly anti-comital, with the recognition of local custom of abbatial consecration being conducted by the bishop being a papal concession in order to encourage faithfulness to the papacy in the abbey.¹⁸⁸

It is this ruling in conjunction with the progressive acceptance of pontifical reform and some increasingly resolute conciliar decrees that probably brought about a change of attitude in Saint-Aubin, and rendered the instances of abbatial

¹⁸⁶ Jean-Hervé Foulon, *ibid.*, p. 44 with fns.: *Quia igitur dilectio tua, ad Sedis Apostolice portum confugiens, eius tuitionem devotione debita requisivit, nos supplicationi tue clementer annuimus, et Beati Albini monasterium ... cum universis ad ipsum pertinentibus sub tutelam Apostolice Sedis excipimus ... Obeunte te, nunc eius loci abbate, vel tuorum quolibet successorum, nullus ibi qualibet subreptionis astutia seu violentia preponatur, nisi quem fratres communi consensu vel fratrum pars consilii sanioris secundum Dei timorem et beati Benedicti regulam elegerint. Electus autem, secundum antiquam monasterii vestri consuetudinem, ab Andecavensi episcopo consecratur.*

¹⁸⁷ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1 (Angers, 1903), pp. 21-3, no. 413 ; Pailloux, "Les Elections abbatiales en l'abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers au XIe siècle," pp. 70-83 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 257 with fn. 359, and pp. 160-2. Urban II had settled the long-running case of the church of Saint-Clément de Craon which had for many years been claimed by both Saint-Aubin and La Trinité de Vendôme in favour of the latter. This may have lost the papacy support in Saint-Aubin, despite the grant to them of Saint-Jean-sur-Loire, held by La Trinité since 1062, in compensation. The monk Milon had been a part of Saint-Aubin's papal delegation to the judgement of this affair.

¹⁸⁸ Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 182-3.

delegation unacceptable.¹⁸⁹ With this undoubtedly came the scraped deletions of the abbatial delegators in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin. Indeed, the introduction of this reform and the expectation that elections would henceforth follow known and unremarkable procedure probably contributed to the cessation of the production of charters recording abbatial elections at Saint-Aubin.

Further evidence for an increasing uptake of reformist thought on the ecclesiastical life of Angers can be demonstrated in this period. Indeed, radical reform seems to have appeared very suddenly in Angers. In the summer of 1101, the bishop of Angers, Geoffroy of Mayenne, was obliged to leave the bishopric, and became a monk at Cluny.¹⁹⁰ The reasons for this unprecedented departure are not clear, but it is worth noting that the *Annals* of Saint-Aubin at this time described

¹⁸⁹ Wood for one has pointed to the comparatively conservative nature of eleventh-century councils held in France before 1060. Indeed, it was only with the Council of Tours in 1060 that the Loire experienced promulgations of the recent legislation against simony, but for this area, care was even been taken to dilute the canons of the Roman decree of 1059 which condemned all simoniac investiture. The version of the canon that was promulgated at this date in Tours replaced the canon banning simoniac candidates with one stating that for a layman to obtain a church, the permission of a bishop had to be obtained. Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 827-8 ; Foulon, *Église et réforme* p. 183 ; Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", p. 36 ; *Canones Concilium Turonense in Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, ed. J.D. Mansi, vol. 19 (Venice, 1692-1769), cols. 925- 8, here c. IV, col. 927.

¹⁹⁰ For the date of this incident, the Cartulary of la Trinité de Vendôme contains a letter of convocation for the appointment of Geoffroy of Mayenne's successor. The letter called for the convocation to happen on the day after the feast of St. Peter, 1101, suggesting it took place on 1st August 1101, Jean-Hervé Foulon, *ibid.*, pp. 182-3. If his successor was elected on 2nd August 1101, then Geoffroy de Mayenne must have left the episcopal throne by 1st August 1101. His entry into the Cluniac community is recorded in *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, vol. 2 (1894), pp. 156-7, no. 401: *Ex parte cluniacensium interfuerunt huic donationi: Gaufredus olim episcopus Andegavensis*. See also *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Cluny*, eds. Bernard and Bruel no. 3827; Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", pp. 43, fn. 77.

him as a neophyte and illiterate.¹⁹¹ The same source attributed this departure to Urban II, which might have been significant if Urban had not died in 1099. Despite these reporting errors, the implication that a simoniac bishop was no longer acceptable to the bishopric of Angers is a significant reflection of contemporary views.

Further, Geoffroy's successor to the bishopric of Angers would also have felt a certain pressure in the post, and not solely due to the ignominious departure of his predecessor. When Renaud de Martigné was installed at the head of the see in late 1101, both the bishop of Le Mans and the abbot of la Trinité de Vendôme criticised the new bishop for having been elected by a popular faction.¹⁹² Both commentators took the opportunity to reiterate the need for elections to be carried out by clergy only, even if unanimity was not possible.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ *Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales Angevines et Vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen, (Paris, 1903), pp. 1-49, here pp. 6, fn. 4 : *Vix septem anis in episcopatu mansit: accusantibus namque et conquerentibus plurimis apud papam quod, eo jubente, neophytus et pene illiteratus fuisset ordinatus, monitu ejusdem Urbani papae sedem deserens monachus Cluniacensis factus est.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 47.: *MCII – Rainaldus episcopus ordinatur II idus januarii*. See also *idem.*, fn. 5; letter of Bishop Hildebert de Lavardin of le Mans to the archbishop of Tours is in *PL*, vol. 171, c. 211A, ep. 4: *...seditiosus turbatae turbae clamor pontificalem extorserit electionem*; letter of Geoffroy of Vendôme to Renaud in *idem.*, vol. 157, c. 113A, ed. 11: *arreptus fuistis a vulgo aet quod ibi factum est, hoc praesuoptuosa et perniciose fecit seditio*. There is some debate in the historiography concerning his method of election: Guillot implied that it was simply done by the crowds described with papal permission to proceed to ordination. Foulon, on the other hand, had stated that he was promoted by the papacy. In either case, the documents cited illustrate contemporary feeling concerning method of episcopal election. *Ibid.*, p. 6; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 451, 259 with fn. 282; and Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", p. 26.

¹⁹³ See Hildebert's letter to Renaud, *PL*, vol. 171, c. 212: *nam de electione quid liquar in qua populo minime licet clerum praecedere sed assensu persequi eligentem*; the letter of Geoffroy as above, c. 115: *sunt autem vicarii Christi clerici in electione, episcopi in consecratione. Caeteri omnes petere quidem episcopum possunt, eligere vero vel consecrare*

Thus, at the start of the twelfth-century, two reformist polemics looked for a radical reform of episcopal elections in line with a reform that sought to remove laymen from Church affairs altogether. Guillot used them to suggest that reform in Saint-Aubin might have reached a level whereby someone felt the compulsion to review the electoral charters in the cartulary in the years 1101-2.¹⁹⁴ The gap in time between the bull of Urban II and these episcopal rebukes would have been enough to see a moderation of the internal view of the community of Saint-Aubin, previously opposed to any such reforms.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, other examples of similar erasures concerning hitherto standard aristocratic involvements in the life of religious foundations seem to have taken place around the same time.¹⁹⁶

Although this is not a normative study of the form that has comprised so much of the past historiography on the topic of ecclesiastical elections and therefore the origins of this new theory of papal reform in Angers is therefore something outwith its limitations, this dating of the change in contemporary attitude in Angers assimilates well with changes in normative history of elections in France. Yves de Chartres (1040 – 1115), bishop of Chartres, canon lawyer, and pupil of

non possunt; concerning the theory of the *maior pars*, cf. the letter of Hildebert to the archbishop of Tours, as cited above, no. 74 (*ibid.*): *asserit etiam decarius cantorem archidiaconos et maiorem capituli partem quantum licuerit obclamasse*.

¹⁹⁴ Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 181-205.

¹⁹⁵ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 451.

¹⁹⁶ Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 182-3 with fns. ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 452 ; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 379. All cite Etienne Sabbe, "Deux points concernant l'histoire de l'abbaye de St.-Pierre du Mont-Blandin (Xe-XIe siècles)," *Revue bénédictine* vol. 47 (1935), pp. 52-71 concerning the scratching out of passages from the 941 diploma copied into the eleventh-century cartulary of the Flemish abbey of Saint-Pierre au Mont Blandin that showed the Count of Flanders exercising rights over the choice of head. Wood labels this as a late eleventh-century incident, Guillot stating that it must have happened before 1102. Wood provides an additional Spanish example of a parallel occurrence.

Lanfranc of Bec, modified his reformist concepts during the late eleventh century in a manner similar to the practice that can be seen described in Anjou: thus, in 1097 he did not exclude the king from elections, but maintained vigorously that the investiture the king gave the bishop, conferred through the baton, showed the king's assent to the election and granted the elected only the material property of the Church.¹⁹⁷ Four years later, however, and probably as a response to the opposition to the theory of limited lay participation which Urban II propounded at the end of his reign, the same commentator removed the possibilities for such lay involvement in his writings. All this happened within the same span of years in which the bishops of Angers were being accosted as blemished men and removed from their positions, and evidence of abbatial delegations was being removed from the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin.¹⁹⁸

It therefore seems likely that the scratched removals of the names of those delegating abbots in the cartulary of Saint-Aubin took place between early 1096 and 1002, most probably in 1101-2. It is evident that by this date both theories and

¹⁹⁷ Etienne Sabbe, *ibid.*, pp. 52-61.: *Quod autem scripsistis praedictum electum investituram episcopatus de manu regis accepisse nec relatum est nobis ab aliquo qui viderit nec cognitum. Quod tamen si factum esset, cum hoc nullan cim sacramenti gerat in consituendo episcopovel adissum vel omisum quid fidei qui sacrae religioni officiat ignoramus, cum post canonicam electionem reges ipsos auctoritate apostolica a concessione episcopatum prohibito minime videamus... Domnus quoque papa Urbanus reges tantum a corporali investitura excludit quantum intelleximus non ab electione in quantum sunt caput populi vel concessione quamvis octava synodus solum prohibeat eos interesse electione non concessioni. Quae concessio sive fiat manu, sive fiat nutu, sive lingua, sive virga quid refert? cum reges nihil spirituale se dare intendant, sed tantum aut votis petentium annuere aut villas ecclesiasticas et alia bona exteriora quae, de minificentia regum obtinent ecclesie ipsis electis concedere.*

¹⁹⁸ See Yves de Chartres, *Correspondance in Les classiques de l'histoire de France au Moyen-Age*, edited and translated by J. Leclercq, (Paris, 1949), here pp. 238-254, especially 246-8, ep. 60; Yves of Chartres, ep. 102 to Manasses, Archbishop of Reims, *PL*, vol. 162, cols. 121A – 122A, here 121C: *... non enim licet regibus... electionibus episcopum se immiscere vel aliquid eas ratione impedire.*

a move to change practice had taken place in the city, leading to the cessation of the recording of abbatial elections by means of charters of election.

The Charters of Election

There is no way of knowing if the deeds described in the monastic charters of election happened in the form described. However, if these documents were produced as a form of legal validity of action, it would be essential that the procedures that they recorded were those that contemporaries would accept as the correct measures for abbatial succession. Thus the following chapters will look at the charters of election, dividing them into three groups based loosely around the chronology of the events to which they pertain.

Charters have for a long time attracted the attention of historians interested in a variety of topics, including, perhaps most consistently, those studying conflict and power. In this role, they have contributed robustly to the history of the exercise of power, illuminating the exercise of early medieval power as well as the functioning of society when power was weak or absent.¹⁹⁹ The inputs of contributors to the “feudal revolution” debate have presented a number of different points of access to the question, as well as helping to develop the language of the argument. However, it is notable that the association of changes, be they gradual or abrupt, with the eleventh-century religious reforms has not seen more investigation.²⁰⁰ Setting a

¹⁹⁹ Ferdinand Lot et al., *Histoire des institutions françaises au moyen âge* (Paris, 1962), vol. 3: *Institutions ecclésiastiques*, pp. 93-4.

²⁰⁰ The work of Robert Moore and Kathleen Cushing might be cited as the very few to have broached the subject. Jarousseau, “La norme monastique”, pp. 357, and perhaps most especially Lemesle, *La société aristocratique*, p. 14 ; R. I. Moore, “Heresy, Repression and Social Change in the Age of the Gregorian Reform” in *Christendom and its Discontents : Exclusion, Persecution and Rebellion, 1000-1500*, edited by Scott L. Waugh and Peter D. Diehl (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 19-46 ; R. I. Moore, “Property, Marriage and the Eleventh-Century Revolution: A Context for Early Medieval Communism” in *Medieval purity and*

local example of these reforms within the social context of its relationship with lordly power, the examples of comital interaction with the monasteries as shown in the charters of election suggest, as Barton proposed from his study of Manceau lordship, that there was a continuity in the quality and mentality of the lordship that these people exercised.²⁰¹ We can reject the notions of a “public” exercise of power in the tenth century fading to a “private” exercise in the eleventh: lordly interactions with monasteries throughout the period demonstrate that comital power was composed as much by symbolic capital – reputation, honour, and a sacral personality associated with their role – as it was by the possession of property. It was possession of these attributes rather than of an institutional role that legitimised comital power.²⁰² In looking to the reforms taking place in local churches of the mid-tenth to mid-eleventh century, then, and by specifically considering moments where comital power interacted with the ecclesiastical world, we will see that changes which took place were not so much transformations as adjustments that invoked traditional symbols of comital charismatic and sacral authority. The mention of bishops acting beside counts in appointing new abbots that emerged from the mid-eleventh century was thus a restatement of the traditional order that envisaged the partnership of count and bishop and the very action of this being a statement of personal and charismatic power.

The following chapter looks at electoral charters pertaining to the period 968-1027, following the 966 refoundation of Saint-Aubin by the Count of Anjou. If the charter of refoundation granted the monks of the community the right to choose

piety : essays on medieval clerical celibacy and religious reform, edited by Michael Frassetto (New York ; London, 1998), pp. 179-208.

²⁰¹ R. I. Moore, "Family, Community and Cult on the Eve of the Gregorian Reform," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* vol. 30, no. Fifth Series (1980), pp. 49-69 ; R. I. Moore, *The first European revolution, c. 970-1215* (Oxford, 2000); Kathleen G. Cushing, *Reform and the papacy in the eleventh century : spirituality and social change* (Manchester, 2005) pp. 1087-8; Lemarignier, "Le Gouvernement." pp. 401-10.

²⁰² Lemarignier, *ibid*; Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, p. 92.

their own abbatial successor after the death of Vidboldus, the charters of election show that the count maintained a strong right of involvement in abbatial successions in this period. It is therefore suggested that the reform and comital involvement in abbatial successions thereafter conform to patterns of donation that were made in order for nobles to maintain a connection with these religious houses for the religious and proprietary benefits that were associated with this, but also as a means to better serve their *memoria*.²⁰³

Thus, having examined the relationship between monastery and lay prince that existed in the late- tenth century and the first decades of the eleventh century, chapter three turns to those charters which describe an early, moderate variant of reform in central France. This reform appeared first in a charter concerning an abbatial succession in the abbey of Montier-la-Celle in 1037, and was apparently overseen by the abbot of Marmoutier, Albert, former dean of Chartres Cathedral (1032-64), who had been granted responsibility for the task by the dying Count Odo II of Blois (983-1037). Where the earlier charters had focused on the overarching actions of the count, this charter echoed more the ethos of the abbatial role determined by the Rule of St. Benedict, describing a far greater role for the community of monks, before investitures by both count and bishop of the abbot-elect. The model this charter developed formed the basis of two other charters, concerning abbatial elevations in 1056 and 1073, and lent similarities of theme and structure with a charter concerning an elevation of 1055. Whilst previous studies of these charters have pointed to them as evidence of a moderate local reform, pre-dating and foreseeing the introduction of more “Gregorian” reforms, with the only evidence of the alteration coming from these charters, it seems more appropriate to consider the change in the scene described by the charters as a reflection of the *mutation documentaire*.²⁰⁴ Thus, it seems much more likely that the episcopal investiture described by these charters had been part of the process of abbatial elevation before 1037, but that the shorter, more direct charters had

²⁰³ Brown, "The Tyranny of a Construct: Feudalism and Historians of Medieval Europe".

²⁰⁴ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*.

not described this action. Focus on the role of the monastic community suggests a new discourse on their role, but also the increasing self-confidence of monasteries in the face of lay involvement.²⁰⁵

Finally, the fourth chapter looks at charters from 1028, 1036, 1060 and 1082 which have formulas that borrow heavily from several of the foregoing charters. Whilst those pertaining to events of 1028 and 1036 might be seen as alternative wordings of documents which carry similar overtones to those of chapter two, it will be suggested that those of 1060 and 1082 demonstrate, from borrowings which showed a strong comital overlordship of abbatial successions, that counts of Anjou in the later eleventh century interpreted and projected their lordship in a more traditional way than might be expected.

²⁰⁵ Cf. fn. 40 with corresponding point.

The Early Charters of Election: 968-1027

Literature on monastic elevations has commonly referred to such moments as elections, although to do so requires some clarification. The term has been used to denote not only a choice of candidate being made, but also the process of the creation of an abbot from the candidate selected, something that might or might not otherwise be described as a candidate's investiture with office. In many ways, the *Rule* of St. Benedict (hereafter *RSB*), the sixth-century text that defined the way of life in each of our monasteries has not helped elucidate this confusion of meaning, especially due to a lack of certainty as to what it meant by an "election". That each Benedictine monastic house should have a leader was decreed by the *RSB*, with chapter 64 of the *RSB* dealing specifically with the creation of monastic superiors. This text laid out three possible methods of selecting an abbot.²⁰⁶ ideally, the entire body of the monastic community should be guided by the Holy Spirit to unanimously decide upon one candidate worthy of the position.²⁰⁷ Unanimity was the product of divine inspiration, and was seen as the sign that God Himself had chosen the abbot-elect through the medium of the assembled community. In principle, the entire assembly was moved by this spirit and the election was made, as a consequence, unanimously.²⁰⁸

His second possibility accounted for situations in which a higher authority did not make its wishes known in this way, and a divided result ensued in which two or more groups within the religious community each chose different, but worthy,

²⁰⁶ St. Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict* in *The Rule of St. Benedict*, edited and translated by J. McCann, (London, 1960), here pp. 144-49.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-5: *In abbatis ordinatione illa semper consideretur ratio, ut hic constituatur quem sive omnis concors concretatio secundum timorem Dei...*

²⁰⁸ J. Gaudemet, "Unanimité et majorité (Observations sur quelques études récentes)" in *Études historiques à la mémoire de N. Didier* (Paris, 1960), pp. 147-162, here p. 157 ; On unanimity in the history of the early Church, see J. T. Lienhard, "*Sanius Consilium*: Recent Work on the Election of the Abbot in the *Rule* of St. Benedict," *The American Benedictine Review* vol. 26, no. 1 (1975), pp. 1-15, here pp. 2-3.

candidates. In this situation, the community were to turn to the *maior et sanior pars* of their body, even if it constituted a numerical minority of the community, and accept the candidate of this group of the electoral body as the correct choice.²⁰⁹ Benedict gave no provisions for determining who held the *sanior consilium*, although the system of *sanior pars* was not necessarily opposed to that of unanimity as this, caused by the Holy Spirit, could only inspire the most worthy people.²¹⁰

Finally, the third possibility that the *Rule* accounted for was that a community might chose an unworthy candidate as their abbot or a corrupt congregation all together elect an abbot who looked upon their vices with a benevolent eye. In this case Benedict was forced to turn to an outside authority for assistance to suspend the election that had taken place and institute a new abbot in place of the first. He specified that this decision-making body should take the form of a committee composed of the diocesan bishop, neighbouring abbots and pious lay people of the region. In cases where the congregation designated an unsuitable candidate, this board had the right to hold account of the election and to institute a new abbot worthy of the position.²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. McCann, here pp. 144-5: *...sive etiam pars quamvis parva concergationis saniore consilio elegerit.*

²¹⁰ Gaudemet, "Unanimité et majorité", p. 158. On the use of *sanioritas* in canon law, see P. Hofmeister, "'Pars sanioris consilii' (Regula c. 64)," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* vol. 70 (1959), pp. 12-24 ; L. Moulin, "*Sanior et Maior pars*: note sur l'évolution des techniques électorales dans les ordres religieux du Vie au XIIIe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de droit français et étranger* vol. 36 (1958), pp. 368-97 and 491-529.

²¹¹ Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. McCann, here pp. 144-5: *Quod si etiam omnis congregatio vitiis suis (quod quidem absit) consentientem personam pari consilio elegerit, et vita ipsa aliquatenus in notitiam episcopi ad cuius diocesim pertinet locus ipse, vel ad abbates aut christianos vicinos claruerint, prohibeant pravorum praevalere consensus, sed domui Dei dignum constituent dispensatorem, scientes pro hoc se recepturos mercedem bonam, si illud*

The *RSB* thus allows for a number of different methods of election but in describing them leaves room for interpretation, something which has led to some controversy concerning Benedict's precise intentions. Indeed, the processes described centre on three words - *eligere*, *constituere* and *ordinare* - none of which are defined in the text. In 1940, the ground-breaking article of Brechter provided a study of the use of these words in the *RSB* from which he drew some conclusions concerning the practice of creating new abbots that the *Rule* intended. His principle conclusion was that the process that Benedict had envisaged was a two-stage procedure by which the election or nomination (*eligere*) of an abbatial candidate took place before the conferral of his office or sacramental ordination (*ordinare*) took place, the latter probably carried out by the external figure of the local bishop.²¹² Although the local bishop would probably carry out the *ordinare*, it was a conferral of office which created an abbot, and not necessarily an ordination or blessing, although these rites might be contained as part of the process.²¹³ Brechter supported this interpretation of proceedings with reference to Chapter 65 of the *RSB* concerning the monastic prior. This section described the danger of the self-aggrandizement of these men "appointed" by the same bishop and abbots who "appointed" the abbot.²¹⁴ If the prior was not to be installed by such people it

caste et zelo Dei faciant; sicut e diverso peccatum, si negligant. Gazeau, *Normannia monastica*, pp. 33-4.

²¹² S. Brecher, "Die Bestellung des Abtes nach des heiligen Benedikt," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktiner-Ordens und seiner Zweige* vol. 58 (1940), pp. 44-58, here pp. 54-5.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 54-8. Earlier works understand *ordinare* as a "solemn blessing," although a precise significance of this action is not always explained, eg. J. Chapman, *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century* (New York, 1929), pp. 60-1 with fns.

²¹⁴ S. Brecher, *ibid.*; Benedict, *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. McCann, here pp. 148-9: *Saepius quidem contingit ut per ordinationem praepositi scandala gravia in monasteriis oriantur; dum sint aliqui maligno spiritu superbiae inflati, et aestimantes se secundos esse abbates, assumentes sibi tyrannidem, scandala nutriunt et dissensiones in congregatione faciunt, et*

followed, he suggested, that the abbot should be. Such a description of the creation of an abbot requiring these two steps was later promoted by Somerville, who pointed to a late sixth-century letter of Gregory the Great in which *ordino* is used to describe what should be done to the person *eligitur* abbot as evidence of the use of such practice in the sixth century.²¹⁵

This interpretation of Benedict's preferred method of creating a new abbot with its apparent desire for a dual-phased process influenced a spate of work on these aspects of the *RSB*, with Hallinger, Payr and de Vogüé all conceiving of Benedict's electoral process as a community selection of candidate followed by a review of the election by a bishop when the candidate was presented to him.²¹⁶ Indeed, Payr and de Vogüé further promoted this idea as being Benedict's envisaged procedure through their belief that that the *sanior pars* of the community could only be designated by an external figure, namely the bishop who had the right to examine and approve their candidate before performing his *ordinatio*.²¹⁷ In considering what the *sanior pars* of the community was, the idea that it was a special group

maxime in illis locis ubi ab eodem sacerdote vel ab eis abbatibus qui abbatem ordinant, ab ipsis etiam et praepositus ordinatur.

²¹⁵ Pope Gregory I, *Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum* in *MGH Ep. II*, eds. P. Ewald and L. M. Hartmann, (Berlin, 1891-99), lib. XIII, ep. 11: *Item constituimus, ut obeunte abbate atque presbytero suprascripti xenodochii atque monasterii non alius ibi quacumque obreptionis astutia ordinetur, nisi quem rex eiusdem provinciae cum consensu monachorum secundum Dei timorem elegerit ac praeviderit ordinandum.* R. Somerville, "'Ordinatio Abbatis" in the Rule of St. Benedict," *Revue bénédictine* vol. 77 (1967), pp. 246-63, here p. 261.

²¹⁶ K. Hallinger, "Papst Gregor der Gross und der hl. Benedikt" in *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, edited by B. Steidle (Rome, 1957), pp. 231-319, here pp. 310-13 ; T. Payr, "Der Magistertext in der Überlieferungsgeschichte der Benediktinerregel" in *Regula Magistri – Regula Benedicti: Studia Monastica*, edited by B. Steidle (Rome, 1959), pp. 1-84, here p. 60 with fns ; A. de Vogüé, *La communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de Saint Benoît* (Paris, 1961), pp. 365-6.

²¹⁷ T. Payr, *ibid.*, p. 60.; Vogüé, *La communauté* p. 365.

chosen by the local bishop was endorsed as one possible solution by Dachowski, who also suggested that it may have been recognised as a permanent body of the senior monks and officials of the monastery, or indeed, not have referred to a formal procedure at all.²¹⁸

This reliance on Chapter 65 of the *RSB* to interpret Benedict's intentions concerning Chapter 64 was, however, criticised by other scholars of the text, and in 1964 two independent studies challenging Brechter's theory considered the genre of the text that Benedict had written in an attempt to understand his intentions. By considering the similarities between the *RSB* and the *Regula Magistri* (*RM*), Steidle saw the *RSB* as a statement of faith: Benedict entrusted provision of abbots to God, trusting the monastic community to express His will and see it enacted.²¹⁹ This was a distinct move away from Brechter's conception of the *Rule* as a legal text in which the community alone was responsible for the presentation of a candidate for the abbatial office.

The same form of spiritual interpretation was presented by Grundmann in the same year as Steidle published his contribution to the argument. Grundmann stated that Benedict was not legislating for the electoral procedure because it was not a juridical problem for him; instead it was a description of how the will of God would be fulfilled, a statement to the community that their faith in Providence

²¹⁸ E. Dachowski, *First Among Equals: The Career of Abbo of Fleury* (Washington D.C., 2008), p. 70.

²¹⁹ B. Steidle, "'Wer euch hört, hört mich' (Lk. 10, 16): die Einsetzung des Abts im alten Möchtum," *Erbe und Auftrag* vol. 40 (1964), pp. 179-96, here pp. 192-6. The bibliography concerning the interrelation of the *RSB* and *RM* is vast, but see amongst other works see F. Vandenbroucke, "Sur les sources de la Règle bénédictine et de la Regula Magistri," *Revue bénédictine* vol. 62 (1952), pp. 216-73 ; Vogüé, *La communauté* pp. 348-87 ; M. Dunn, "Mastering Benedict: Monastic Rules and their Authors in the Early Medieval West," *The English Historical Review* vol. 105, no. 416 (1990), pp. 567-94 ; M. Dunn, "Tánaise rí: the Earliest Evidence," *Peritia* vol. 13 (1999), pp. 249-254.

would safely guide the moment.²²⁰ In this way, it was not the community that chose their abbot and a bishop or other external ecclesiastic with authority within the Church that appointed each new abbot, but God. This was a concept denied by Hallinger, whose response questioned the need for a written *Rule* at all if Benedict's concept had been to allow purely the will of God to direct the life of the community.²²¹ Instead, Hallinger reiterated his research which had pointed to a precedent for the use of *sanior consilium* in taking decisions for a group that had been set in the legislation of Justinian, and suggested that this part of the monastic community could be seen in the senior members of the community who would still be in attendance even when there was no abbot.²²² Indeed, at the turn of the last century, the practicalities of entrusting the selection process to a small and elite group of the electorate was seen as a practical device by L'Huillier, who suggested that this smaller electorate might have been used as an ordinary course of event, with a specific section of the community selected for the purpose.²²³ Thus, in cases

²²⁰ H. Grundmann, "'Pars quamvis parva': zur Abtwahl nach Benedikts Regel" in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, edited by P. Classen and P. Scheibt, (Wiesbaden, 1964), pp. 237-51, here pp. 240-44.

²²¹ H. Grundmann, "Zur Abt-Wahl nach Benedikts Regel: die "Zweitobern" als "sanior pars"?", *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* vol. 77 (1966), pp. 217-23, here pp. 218-20.

²²² K. Hallinger, "Das Wahlrecht der Benediktusregula," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* vol. 76 (1965), pp. 233-45, here pp. 241-3. This was a suggestion that Dachowski also proposed, Dachowski, *First Among Equals*, p. 70.

²²³ A. L'Huillier, *Explication ascétique et historique de la Règle de saint Benoît*, (Paris, 1901), quoted in Paul Delatte, *The Rule of St. Benedict: A Commentary* [translated by J. McCann] (London, 1959), pp. 444-5. This method was one of the seven forms of abbatial election that Hallinger found in use in the sixth century, discovered in a *novella* of 546: *Justiniani Novellae, Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3, ed. R. Schoell and N. Kroll (Berlin, 1954), p. 618. See Hallinger, "Das Wahlrecht", here pp. 238-9. On *sanioritas* in ecclesiastical law, Hofmeister, "'Pars sanioris consilii" (Regula c. 64)", here pp. 12-24. Although not comprehensive, for summaries of the bibliography of the election of the abbot in the *RSB*, Lienhard, "Sanior Consilium:"; Somerville, "Ordinatio Abbatis"; A. Their. "Hierarchie und Autonomie. Regelungstraditionen der Bischofsbestellung in der Geschichte des kirchlichen Wahlrechts

where it was perceived in advance that an ineffective and damaging divided vote might take place, using the judgement of a smaller group in agreement would have provided the unanimous election that was such an ideal. Indeed, it was a concept not unfamiliar to other monastic rules, and by including such a concept in his *Rule*, Benedict may have been adopting elements of these, such as that of St. Basil, which expected the superiors of neighbouring monastic communities to chose a local abbot, or of the monastic constitution of St Pachomius, in which the longest-serving monks would chose an abbatial successor.²²⁴

The Charters

The early charters of election form a group due to the similarity of their texts number five, all of which appear to show comital involvement as the controlling factor. There is one additional document, however, concerning a succession of 988, which reveals an abbatial succession that took place under circumstances very different to the standard, the death of an abbot, and which has been characterised as promoting a much more Benedictine conception of the abbatial role.²²⁵ If it is considered that moments such as abbatial successions could be political tools for a lay prince to make a statement about his power and to display his actions, then contextualising the documents in their contemporary political and social situation, as well as considering the differences among each of them pertaining to a certain formula, can be shown to more firmly provide explanation for what each charter

bis 1140," Thesis, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, Habilitationsschrift, (2001), pp. 146-8.

²²⁴ On St. Basil's regulations for abbatial successions, *Regula S. Basilii*, c. 43.2, in *PG*, vol. 31, cols. 1028C-1029B, discussed in G. Saint-Laurent, "St. Basil of Caesarea and the Rule of St. Benedict," *Diakonia* vol. 16 (1981), pp. 71-9 ;Steidle, "Wer euch hört", here pp. 179-96 on the selection of abbots in ancient monasticism more generally. Their has suggested that the *sanior pars* might have been the senior members of the monastic community, those holding office and the longest-serving or those whose qualities were particularly noted among the community, Their, "Hierarchie und Autonomie," pp. 146-8.

²²⁵ All the texts, with translations, are to be found in Appendix 1.

was trying to achieve. After an examination of the charters and exposition of their political context, it will therefore be suggested for the documents below that all of them, including that of 988, support the concept of the abbatial office of Saint-Aubin being a tool for comital policy, and that these charters demonstrated comital lordship, but their legitimacy to act as lords, as well as their personal capability to do so.

In the act of 966 which introduced the reform, the count had designated the first abbot, Vidboldus, and granted that in the future the monks should have free election of his successor:

And we concede them the freedom that after the day of his death, he should be substituted, with our consent and that of our future descendants, his successor who should be found appropriate by the brothers of this place by privilege of election.²²⁶

It will be noted first of all that the count conserved a right expressed by the term *assensus* that he should give his consent and approve the choice of successor made by the monks. Notably, this right was also claimed for his descendants to come, establishing a hereditary character to this right at Saint-Aubin. So, whilst the monastery had been refounded, and monks reintroduced and granted the right to select their own abbots in the future, it was evident that means for a continual comital involvement in the institution was provided.

However, following the death of Vidboldus, a very comital character to the charter of election of his successor, Albert, was evident. The arenga opens with a quotation from Ecclesiastes 12:13 with minor alterations, including the addition of the phrase *forgetfulness having been laid aside*, making a strong statement of man's duty to show the obedience demanded by God (1). More, this borrowing has been expanded upon in the second half of the section with *that is...sight of God*, in order

²²⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, pp. 4-7, no. 2, here p. 6 ; *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ms. 829, Bib. mun. d'Angers fol. 7-10, here 7vo-8vo.

to emphasise the point. More than being a simple statement of the necessity for piety and compliance with His wishes, the section points to the fact of man's creation for the very purpose of serving God, and the rewards in the afterlife for those carrying out these functions as they had been created to do. This hierarchical statement of the position of man under God acted not only as a profession of faith. Indeed, made as it is in the count's voice, it straightaway expresses a certain sense of comital leadership, and the impression is made that the count articulates these facts for a reason connected to the duties the he owed God. Thus, the formula opens with a justification for the deeds he carries out to be described in the *dispositio*.

The *arenga* also makes reference to wickedness in the world, **2** describing murders and sinful pleasures of the world seen in those who have abandoned God, followed by the punishments of God wreaked in response to these. The phrase makes an allusion to Job 19:29, but the following section which describes the ruined foundations of kings, dukes and princes makes it evident that the described *sword of the barbarians* alluded to Viking raids which had damaged and destroyed monastic houses. Although a used as a topos from at least the late seventh century, contemporary fears were within living memory.²²⁷ The placing of these foundations of lay princes in the framework of piety reflects the late tenth-century witnessing of a sudden influx of gifts to churches from laymen of all status, as well as the rebuilding and restoration that had taken place within lay hands.²²⁸

The culmination of the *arenga* and its themes comes with section **5**. Here, what is virtually a tricolon crescendo describes the need for the action and the focus required to improve the situation in the areas God has placed under one's rule. This phrase suggests an conception of religious responsibility coming from the individual, reflecting a personal conception of salvation in the fulfilment of God's requirements. It is the statement of the count's duty the *arenga* has prepared for so

²²⁷ Cf. p. 37.

²²⁸ Howe, "The Nobility's Reform", here pp. 321-2.

far, but it is also a statement of one reason for comital involvement in monastic affairs.

The dispositio of the charter clearly demonstrates Geoffrey Grisegonelle's appointment of Albert as the next abbot of Saint-Aubin:

Accordingly I, Count Geoffrey of Anjou in the name of God, together with the general consent of Nefingue Bishop of Angers and also of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of the soul of our father Fulk and our mother Gerberga and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Albert, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish.²²⁹

Notably, the count is recorded as acting with the consent of Bishop Nefingue and then by that of his loyal nobles, the order here giving some precedence to the role of the bishop. Notably, Nefingue had signed the act of reform of 966, but he appeared in the charter of election in support of the count's delegation of the abbacy.

Motivation for the count's act was given, the count to stating that he was acting for the sake of the soul of his father and mother, both named, as well as for those of other family (6). And the character of the charter as one of donation is continued

²²⁹ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829 fol. 7vo: *Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine Gozfredus Andecavensium comes una cum consensu Nefingi Andecavensis episcopi vel etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet anime patris nostri Fulconis et matris nostre Gerberge seu etiam pro reliquorum nostrorum parentum requie delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Albertum salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus talem ut post obitum eius quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem.*

with the repetition of the dispositions of the charter of 966, with the count granting again that the monks of Saint-Aubin be allowed to choose the man they desired as their next abbot following Albert's death, that some immunity be given to their lands, except in a three named cases, and that lands of the abbey that had been appropriated by external parties should be returned (6-8). There are some final commands given, that no-one should dare to seize the stipends of the brothers (10), before the anathema clause lists some fairly specific requirements for transgressors' punishments (11).

The role of the bishop of Angers in proceedings is seen again at the end of the charter, where he appears before the count, one of three dignitaries of the cathedral chapter who signs the charter (13). After the comital signature came those of these three men, then some higher-status monks, before a number of names without titles. Included among these names is that of Rainald, viscount of Angers, and so it is likely that those names preceding his belonged to novices of the abbey, and those thereafter were the names of followers of the count. Thus, it appears that the early electoral charters largely suggest an inversion of the roles that the refoundation of 966 granted, since the monks approve a comital delegation without having freely chosen their abbot.

Between 18th April 977 and 21st July 987, Abbot Gontier acceded to the abbacy, and the charter recording the event repeats the same schema of the preceding act of delegation.²³⁰ It starts with an arenga copied from the earlier one, but shortens

²³⁰ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, vol. 2, p. 24, no. C6 with fn. Grisegonelle died 21st July, 987. The obituary of Saint-Aubin gives the date of 18th April for the death of Albert. *Obituary of Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ms. 831, Bib. mun. d'Angers, here fol. fol. 10 vo: *XIIII (Kl. Mai) Depositio domni Alberti abbatis*. Gontier was probably the monk whose signature appeared among those of the other monks in the earliest act of Abbot Albert, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 64-5, no. 40.

it, the passage evoking the murders and pleasures of the world disappearing. Similarly, the passage making allusion to the past foundations of kings, dukes and *principes* destroyed by “the avenging sword of the barbarians,” was removed, centring focus on the action of the count:

The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.²³¹

There follows the designation of the next abbot by the count:

Accordingly I, Count Geoffrey of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of our son Fulk and also of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of our soul and of our father and our mother and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Gontier, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish.²³²

The same formula of delegation is used as in the previous charter except for three points: the count indicates explicitly that he acted for the salvation of his soul; he

²³¹ *Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quæ deus nostro dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.*

²³² *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829, fol. 7vo-8 ro: Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine Gozfredus Andecavensium comes una cum consensu filii nostri Fulconni vel etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet anime nostre patrique necne simul et matris seu etiam pro reliquorum parentum nostrorum requiæ delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Gonterium salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus ut post eius obitum quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem.*

envokes he mother and father, but did not give their names; and finally, most importantly, listed as consenting to the action in the first and most prominent place is not the bishop of Angers, but Fulk, the count's young son. This is a sign that Geoffrey Grisegonelle wanted to associate his son with the prerogative which he exercised at the heart of the abbey of Saint-Aubin, and in some ways reflects the hereditary right to consent to monastic elections claimed by the charter of refoundation, perennialising the right of intervention and reinforcing the comital prerogative.²³³ The noble character of the charter is further reinforced by the consent of the count's loyal nobles after that of his son, removing all traces of the ecclesiastical consent which had appeared in the electoral charter of 968.

The participation of the bishop in the event, however, is demonstrated at the end of the act, where Bishop Renaud of Angers' signature appears immediately after that of Grisegonelle's, and before those of 15 monks of the community. His involvement here only associated him less than his predecessor had been, but his signature in a prominent location still demonstrates his importance on the occasion of the elevation.²³⁴ The clause of corroboration is almost identical to the charter of 968, describing those signing as the *nobles* of the count. However, in contrast to the previous act, the subscriptions of the lay nobles described as consenting and other ecclesiastics do not appear, and neither does that of the young Fulk. Another obvious omission is that the act no longer touches upon the usurpation of property in the body of the text or afterwards in the corroboration

²³³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 4-7, no. 2.

²³⁴ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829, fol. 8 ro. Appendix 1, 977, 6-7: *Et ut hoc scriptum inconvulsum et integrum perhenniter manu propria firmavimus manibusque procerum nostrorum roborandum obtulimus. S. Gaufridi comitis. S. Rainaldi episcopi. S. Geiloni monachi. S. Widdoni monachi. S. Girardi monachi. S. Wikardi monachi. S. Herberti monachi. S. Otbranni monachi. S. Letardi monachi. S. Walterii monachi. S. Heldeverti monachi. S. Otberti monachi. S. Ungerii monachi. S. Rainoldi monachi. S. Adhelelmi monachi. S. Alberti monachi. S. Unberti monarchi.*

clause.²³⁵ This may well have corresponded to difficulties for the monks in obtaining the return of lands of the abbey in the spirit of the reform of 966.²³⁶

The third act is presented very differently to the two previous ones in its form and substance. From the first lines, we can sense that the accession of the new abbot did not happen in the same way as his two predecessors:

To all in this house for whom to live is Christ and to die is gain and who, above all, place their necks voluntarily under the yoke of the Rule of St. Benedict, who commands that monks living in a monastery need an abbot to preside over them...²³⁷

The difference in tone is obvious from the start of the *arenga*, which is more heavily Biblical and quotes and makes allusions to specific Biblical passages in a way one might expect of a traditional *arenga*. For example, there is an immediate reference to those holding the Christian faith via an adaptation from Phil. 1:21.²³⁸ This is followed by allusions to the books of Ecclesiastics and Jeremiah and the Gospel of Matthew all concerning the bending of necks under a religious rule, in this case, an allusion to the monks' choice to follow a religious life.²³⁹ These

²³⁵ Cf. Appendix 1, 968, **8, 10**.

²³⁶ Jean-Pierre Brunterc'h, "Maine ou Anjou? Histoire d'un canton entre Loir et Sarthe (VIIe-XIe siècles)" in *Media in Francia. Recueil de mélanges offert à Karl Ferdinand Werner à l'occasion de son 65e anniversaire par ses amis et collègues français* (Malévrier, 1989), pp. 61-84, here pp. 72-9 ; Guy Jarousseau, "Épiscopat et églises en Anjou au haut Moyen Âge," Thesis, Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne, (2005), pp. 132-3.

²³⁷ Appendix 2, 988, **1**: *Omnibus in domo quibus est Christus vivere et mori lucrum et potissimum sub iugo regule sancti benedicti sponte colla submittentibus, qui iubet ut monachi monasterio degentes abbatem sibi preesse desiderant....*

²³⁸ *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. E. Weber (Stuttgart, 1994), here p. 1816 : *mihi enim vivere Christus est et mori lucrum*, to live is Christ and to die is gain.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, Ecclesiastics 51:34, p. 1095: *et collum vestrum subicite sub iugo et suscipiat anima vestra disciplinam*, and submit your neck to the yoke, and let your soul receive discipline; Jeremiah 27:12, p. 1204: *subicite colla vestra sub iugo regis Babylonis et servite ei et populo*

allusions are unusual choices for the arenga, Ecclesiastics being used primarily in early seventh-century canticles, and the Jeremiah quote used sparingly in the work of St. Eusebius Hieronymus and some other early medieval scriptural commentaries. However, the same section also makes reference to Chapter 58 of the *RSB*, which dictates the procedure for receiving brothers.²⁴⁰ More direct use is made of Chapter 5, which emphasised the need for an abbot in the most essential terms.²⁴¹

The conditions in which the choice of the new abbot are laid out next, starting with the departure of Abbot Gontier for Rome and Jerusalem.²⁴² This passage states that Gontier had been delegated as abbot by Geoffrey Grisegonelle, the verb *praefficere*, used initially in 966 to describe the elevation of Vidboldus, shows that it was in the

eius et vivetis, bend down your necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon, and serve him and his people and you shall live; Matthew 11:29, p. 1542: *tollite iugum meum super vos et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde et invenietis requiem animabus vestris*, take up my yoke upon you, and learn of me, because I am meek and humble of heart, and you shall find rest for your souls.

²⁴⁰ St. Benedict, *Regula Benedicti* in *The Rule of St. Benedict*, edited and translated by B. Venarde, (London, 2011), here pp. 188, trans. p. 189 : *Et si habita secum deliberatione promiserit se Omnia custodire et cuncta sibi imperata servare, tunc suscipiatur in congregatione, sciens et lege regulae constitutum quod ei ex illa die non liceat egredi de monasterio, nec collum excutere de sub iugo regulae quem sub tam morosam deliberationem licuit aut excusare aut suscipere*. And if, after deliberating with himself, he promises to take care in all things and carry out every task given him, then let him be received into the community, knowing that it is stated in the law of the Rule that from that day forward it is not permitted to him to leave the monastery, nor shake his neck from the yoke of the Rule that he was free to reject or accept after such exacting deliberation.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-41.: *...ut non suo arbitrio viventes vel desideriis suis et voluptatibus obediunt, sed ambulantes alieno iudicio et imperio, in coenobiis degentes abbatem sibi praeesse desiderant*. ... so that not living by their own will or obeying their desires and pleasures, but going along according to another's judgement and command and dwelling in monasteries, they desire to have an abbot over them.

²⁴² Appendix 1, 988, 2-3.

name of the count that Gontier had been charged with the abbatial office. This had a long history of use in legal situations to describe the positioning of candidates into positions of authority.²⁴³ In Roman public law, it had carried two correlative notions: to establish and place above, or to confer a power of command and public authority.²⁴⁴ Later, in the Republican period it came to be used more specifically to describe the designation of agents by the emperor, and the granting to them of elements of imperial power or authority in order for them to act in the emperor's name.²⁴⁵ Through this delegation, a relationship between both parties was established whereby the candidate named, the *praefectus*, provided a form of representation for the man who had named him, who *praefecit*, which was otherwise unknown in Roman law.

In the tenth- and eleventh-centuries, the word seems to have held onto a technical sense, with offices such as alderman, duke, margrave, and count qualified by the term on occasion.²⁴⁶ In the contemporary ecclesiastical world, it was used to demonstrate the act of the prince who designated and established the first bishop of the new bishopric of Havelberg.²⁴⁷ This procedure recognised that the bishop would act with authority granted by the prince in his role as divine agent until such time as his death, when it was the responsibility of the prince to find a new candidate. It is this form of usage that might be understood in the use of the verb in

²⁴³ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 4-7, no. 2.

²⁴⁴ Olivier Guillot, "Le droit romain classique et la lexicographie de terme du Latin médiéval impliquant délégation de pouvoir" in *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du moyen-âge*, edited by Pierre Barkan (Paris, 1981), pp. 153-166, here p. 158.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁴⁶ Jan Frederik Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), pp. 831-2.

²⁴⁷ T. P. McLaughlin, *Le très ancien droit monastique de l'Occident. Étude sur le développement général du monachisme et ses rapports avec l'Église séculière et le monde laïque de saint Benoît de Nursie à Saint Benoît d'Aniane* (Ligugé, 1935), p. 91 with fn. 9: ... *in castro Havelberg... episcopalem constituimus sedem praeficientes ei venerabilem praesulem Oudonem...* cited in Guillot, "Délégation de pouvoir", pp. 158-9.

the charter of Saint-Aubin's reform and the granting of the first abbacy to a Benedictine abbot.

The difference between this verb and that used by Gontier to designate his successor, *providere*, reflects the different circumstance of the two elevations.²⁴⁸ The use of the former term in the 988 abbatial succession of Saint-Aubin recognised the count's role in delegating and granting the abbatial function and the relationship of guardian-*fidelis* that was created between him and the new abbot by this. As guardian of the monastery, the count had charged Gontier to act as the abbot, and so long as this man lived, it was he who held the abbatial office as a life-long responsibility. On his death, it returned to the count as guardian of the monastery, and it became the comital responsibility to find another candidate to entrust with the office. However, the circumstances of the elevation of Renaud were very different: Gontier was leaving the charge which the count had entrusted to him, but there had been no death to create the conditions needed for the count to assume an active position as guardian of the monastery. This circumstance meant that the abbatial office had not returned to the count, and therefore it was still the duty of the abbot he had appointed to take responsibility for the exercise of the abbatial office. Gontier did this by providing the community with another monastic superior. It is this distinction that explains the use of a different verb, *providere*, to describe Gontier's designation of Renaud.²⁴⁹

The term also suggests Gontier's ability to define the future, something which could not be done without prayer (3). Explanation of the choice is given, with the light of the Holy Spirit allowing him to see what would be beneficial for the future of the community. This divine intervention is elsewhere overtly stated as having caused the selection of Renaud, and Renaud's own virtues are cited as evidence that the right choice had been made.²⁵⁰ Indeed, where it is stated that Renaud was a member of the community, it is possible that he was the Rainaldus who appeared

²⁴⁸ Appendix 1, 988, 2-3.

²⁴⁹ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 356.

²⁵⁰ Appendix 1, 988, 5: *providente gratia Dei....* ; and 3, on his virtues.

in a charter of 973.²⁵¹ A Rainoldus appeared among the monks in the act concerning Gontier's elevation, and both Rainoldus and Rainaldus appeared signing a concession in the abbacy of Gontier.²⁵² If Renaud was either of these men, then he was indeed a monk of the monastery.

The decision of Gontier took place in the year following the death of Geoffrey Grisegonell, on 21st July, 987. The young count Fulk Nerra had just succeeded his father. But the act shows that, in accordance with the reform of 966, the monks properly exercised, under the leadership of Abbot Gontier, their right to elect their abbot:

...with the consent of the brothers of the aforesaid place and of the most discriminating young man, the son of the aforesaid Count Geoffrey, who happily succeeded his father, by the name of Fulk. 5. with the grace of God bringing about his election, just as, we believe, [that] of the most prudent bishops, clerics, and noble laymen, and besides all these [things], the election and likewise the acclamation of the aforesaid group seems to agree all the better...²⁵³

Thus the monks consented to the choice of abbot made by Renaud, the group listed before the young Count Fulk. The text uses the words *electio* followed by *acclamatio* to describe the consent of bishops, clerics, and nobles, terms which had been altogether absent in the previous charters of election. The inclusion of the monks in the list of those parties involved in the elevation may suggest an adherence to the spirit of the reform of 966, however, the foregoing emphasis on the *RSB* seems to suggest that this was a stronger influence.²⁵⁴ Whilst the use of *acclamatio* recalled early Church procedures, and could bring a sense of legitimacy and dignity to the situation, an assumption of the application of these theories and the *RSB* should perhaps not be overplayed; for a tenth-century charter, it seems

²⁵¹ *Cart. de Saint Aubin*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 2, p. 3, no. 394.

²⁵² Appendix 1, 977, 7; *ibid.*, pp. 322-3, no. 282.

²⁵³ Appendix 1, 988, 4-5.

²⁵⁴ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 357.

much more likely that the consenting parties listed those most able to support the terms of the act, with the count, bishops, clerics and then lay nobles able to lend support if needed.²⁵⁵

Further use of the RSB is made in describing the character of the virtuous abbot,

by that course, namely so that following the Rule of St. Benedict, who is the father and guide and also the counsellor, after God, of all faithful monks, so in this world as in the next, he should strive in all things to act according to his ability and knowledge, and he should busy himself more with doing good than with being in charge. And he should manage all things prudently and properly, with the advice of God-fearing brothers So that when the shepherd of shepherds will have come, to whom he will render an account of the souls entrusted to him, and with [an account] of his own soul having been added, he may deserve to hear joyfully what the good servant [heard], who spent the talent having been entrusted to him on his fellow-servants

²⁵⁵ Léopold Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes, évêques, moines, seigneurs: forces et jeux politiques dans l'Anjou du XI^e s.," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* vol. 68 (1973), pp. 104-111, here p. 105. The bibliography on the procedures of acclamation, unanimity, and majority is enormous, but see, among others, A. Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité" in *Mélanges Fitting. 75^e anniversaire de M. le professeur Hermann Fitting*, edited by E. Meynial, vols. 2, (Montpellier, 1907-8), pp. 357-82 ; F. L. Ganshof, "Note sur l'élection des évêques dans l'empire romain au IV^e et pendant la première moitié du Ve siècle," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* vol. 4 (1950), pp. 467-98 ; P. Grossi, "Unanimitas – Alle origini del concetto di persona giuridica nel diritto canonico," *Annali di Storia del Diritto* vol. 2 (1958), pp. 229-331 ; Moulin, "Sanior et Maior pars"; Gaudemet, "Unanimité et majorité"; K. Ganzer, "Das Mehrheitsprinzip bei den kirchlichen Wahlen des Mittelalters," *Theologische Quartalschrift* vol. 147 (1967), pp. 60-87 ; Pierre Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas. Expressions du mouvement communautaire dans le Moyen-Âge latin*, (Paris, 1970); R. L. Benson, "Election by Community and Chapter. Reflections on Co-Responsibility in the Historical Church," *The Jurist* vol. 31 (1971), pp. 54-80 ; G. Bartelink, "The use of the words electio and consensus in the Church until about c. 600," *Concilium* vol. 77 (1972), pp. 147-55.

as was needed, "Well done, good and faithful servant. Enter into the joy of your Lord."²⁵⁶

These sections borrow heavily from additional Benedictine texts. The reference to the abbot as father and leader of faithful monks refers to a Benedictine liturgical tradition, which used such phrases to designate St. Benedict himself. Indeed, the phrase *dux et pater* was been used in Carolingian poems.²⁵⁷ However, the use of such phrases may reflect the reforming relationship between the abbey of Fleury and Saint-Aubin, in that the most significant usage of *dux et pater* was in the acts relating to Fleury from the period in which it was receiving Cluniac reform. The phrase was used here in a bull of Pope Leo VII and in one from the initiator of this reform, Count Élisierne, of 941 when he was taking the monastic habit himself.²⁵⁸ Outwith a Benedictine context, the emphasis the phrase placed on the pastoral responsibility of ecclesiastical leaders can be seen in the eighth-century to refer to a bishop of Milan, who was described as *dux et pater* of the city's nobles.²⁵⁹ Evidently, whether referring to St. Benedict himself or another man with responsibility for the guidance of others, the phrase referred to a duty to demonstrate a worthy life very in keeping with Benedictine traditions of the abbot's role.

²⁵⁶ Appendix 1, 988, 6-9.

²⁵⁷ J.-R. Hesbert, *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, 3 vols (Rome, 1963-79), here vol. 3 (1968), no. 4752, p. 458: *Sanctissime confessor Domini, monachorum pater et dux, Benedicte, intercede pro nostra omniumque salute*. This is an eleventh-century antiphone for the feast day of St. Benedict, 21st March. Cited in Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 360.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 360 cites the phrase as used by Alcuin and Paul the Deacon. In *Papsturkunden 896-1046*, ed. H. Zimmermann (Vienna, 1988-9), pp. 140-2, no. 83, here p. 141: *...preaeditum coenobium beatissimi Benedicti, qui est pater et dux monachorum, reflorescere ad normam monasticae religionis audimus...*; *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire*, in *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire* eds. M. Prou and A. Vidier, vol. 1 of 2 vols. (Paris, 1907-1912), pp. 120-2, no. XLVII, here p. 121: *Et quia monasticam professionem mihi subire placuit, beatissimum Benedictum patrem videlicet monachorum ac ducem placandum quamprimum iudicavi*.

²⁵⁹ Jarousseau, *ibid.*, pp. 360-1.

This theme continued with the statement that the abbot should invest his role with a desire to do well rather than a desire to be in charge of others using language that closely mirrors Chapter 64 of the *RSB*: *in omnius conversari pro posse et nosse studeat et plus prodesse quam preesse satagat* (6).²⁶⁰ Similarly, the borrowings continue with the next requirement of the abbot, that he follow Chapters 3 and 63 of the *RSB* which required him to consult the community on important business in order to rule justly: *et omnia cum consilio fratrumiuste disponat* (7).²⁶¹ His responsibilities before God for the souls of the community were again emphasised with reference to Chapter 2 of the *Rule*, twice in this case: *...ut cum venerit pastor pastorum cui redditurus est rationem de sibi commissis animabus...* (7).²⁶² Finally, the charter cited the rewards granted to a worthy abbot who had carried out the work entrusted to him by alluding to Chapter 64 of the *Rule*: *...quod servus bonus*

²⁶⁰ Benedict, *Regula Benedicti*, ed. Venarde cap. 64, verse 8, pp. 206-7: *...sciatque sibi oportere prodesse magis quam praeesse*. ...and know that he should benefit the brothers rather than preside over them.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, cap. 3, verse 2, pp. 28-9: *...et audiens consilium fratrum tractet apud se et quod utilius iudicaverit faciat*. ... after hearing the brothers' counsel, he should mull things over and do what he judges to be most beneficial.; cap. 63, verse 2-3, pp. 202-3: *Qui abbas non conturbet gregem sibi commissum nec, quasi libera utens potestate, iniuste disponat aliquid, cogitet semper quia de omnibus iudiciis et operibus suis redditurus est Deo rationem*. The abbot should not disturb the flock entrusted to him, nor arrange anything unjustly, using his power as if it were arbitrary, but let him be ever mindful that he will have to render an account to God for all his judgements and actions.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, cap. 2, verse 38, pp. 26-7: *...et quantum sub cura sua fratrum se habere scierit numerum, agnoscat pro certo quia in die iudicii ipsarum omnium animarum est redditurus Domino rationem, sine dubio addita et suae animae*. Whatever the number of brothers that he knows are under his care, let him be certain that on the Day of Judgement, he will render an account to the Lord for every one of these souls, and of course for his own as well.; cap. 3, verses 33-4, pp. 28-31: *Ipse tamen abbas cum timore Dei et observatione regulae omnia faciat, sciens se procul dubio de omnibus iudiciis suis aequissimo iudici Dei rationem redditurum*. However, the abbot himself should do everything in fear of God and in observance of the Rule, knowing beyond all doubt that he will have to render an account concerning all his decisions to God, the most just judge.

*qui erogavit talentum sibi creditum conservis suis in tempore suo... (8).*²⁶³ As a comparison between the charter and the original text of the *RSB* demonstrates, the author of the charter replaced the word *triticum* with the phrase *talentum sibi creditum* in order to introduce a citation from the Gospel of Matthew, 25:21: *Euge serve bone et fidelis... intra in gaudium Domini tua*. Where Chapter 64 of the *RSB* ended with Matthew 24:47, here the author changed the Biblical quote to demonstrate the rewards of the good abbot.

The charter concerning the abbatial succession of 988 is therefore a curious combination of Benedictine focus, and tenth century reality. Jarousseau's statement that the election conformed to a Benedictine tradition places too much emphasis on the appearance of quotations from the *RSB*, and fails to adequately register the acceptance and endorsement of comital involvement in Gontier's accession, and the fact the Fulk Nerra consented to the elevation in a primary place, before the community of monks expressed their unanimous acceptance, and other ecclesiastics, as well as lay people, acclaimed the event. Whilst the charter is the first not to be written in the voice of the count, the apparently large body of people involved in the affair does not negate the fact of the count's involvement, the respectful manner in which he is mentioned, and the appearance of laymen acclaiming the succession.

The charter of accession of Abbot Girard in 996 saw a return to comital delegation, the text based on that used for the succession of 977.²⁶⁴ It nonetheless shows

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, cap. 64, verse 21, pp. 208-9: *...ut dum bene ministraverit audiat a Domino quod servus bonus qui erogavit triticum conservis suis tempore suo... ...so that when he has served well he may hear from the Lord what the good servant, who distributed the harvest to his fellow servants in due time, heard.*

²⁶⁴ The investiture took place before 2nd December 996, and after 11 May 1001: Abbot Renaud was still in action in 996, according to a charter in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin dated 996, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 61-2, no. 37; according to the obituary of Saint-Aubin, he died on 2nd December: *Obituary*

differences that suggest that this first delegation of Fulk Nerra's to Saint-Aubin was an opportunity for the count to display his right in a singular manner. After an arenga which is missing the elements concerning murder, worldly pleasures, and describing the foundations of princes and laymen, but maintains the focus on the rights and duties of man in God's order, the count's responsibilities to protect what God had given him to rule, Fulk appointed Girard as abbot:

Accordingly I, Count Fulk of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of our soul and of our father and our mother and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Girard...²⁶⁵

Here again, only the count's faithful nobles gave their consent, the monks and the bishop of Angers having no place in the procedure. The *pro remedio animae* clause for the count remains, as does the extension of this to Fulk's parents and extended family, although none of these characters are named. After the standard grant giving the monks the freedom to select their own abbot in the future and immunities except in cases of theft, arson, and murder, Fulk Nerra signed the act alone. The clause of corroboration is unambiguous in its declaration of his full authority and ability to make the grant:

And so that this document may exist in perpetuity, whole and complete, we have confirmed [it] with our own hand.²⁶⁶

of Saint-Aubin d'Angers, Bibliothèque municipale d'Angers, ms. 831, fol. 23 vo: *IIII: Non. (Decemb.) Depositio domni Rainaldi abbatis*. His successor died on 11th May, 1001, *Ibid.*, fol. 13 vo: *V. Id. (Mai) Depositio domni Girardi abbatis*.

²⁶⁵ Appendix 1, 996, 4.

²⁶⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829, fol. 8 vo; Appendix 1, 996, 6: *Et ut hoc scriptum inconvulsum et integrum perhenniter permaneat manu propria subter firmamus. Signum Fulconis comitis*.

Fewer than five years later, the charter of accession of Abbot Humbert revealed a pragmatic character of the legal framework which led to the nomination of the abbot. The act is dated to 3rd September 1001 and it can be deduced that Girard had died on 11th May 1001.²⁶⁷ It therefore took more than three and a half months to designate the new abbot, and it may well have been that this relatively long vacancy was a sign of contemporary difficulties.

The charter starts with the standard arenga of an act of delegation with, however, with the reinsertion of the forgotten phrase from the first charter of delegation (in bold):

For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way and **abandoning themselves to murders and pleasure**. They cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness.²⁶⁸

This phrase makes a reference to the first letter of St. John, I John 5:19.²⁶⁹ Whilst the borrowing of this phrase from the first charter of election might have been a simple condemnation of the world, the difficult political context for the count may be reflected in this sudden strength of feeling concerning the sins of the world.

Are these simple condemnations of the world or an allusion to recent years? Local annals do record 1000 as a tense year, with the countess Elisabeth burned alive following false accusations of adultery. The Annals of Saint-Aubin and *History of Saint-Florent* recording the execution of Countess Elisabeth as having been

²⁶⁷ Ibid., fol. 8 vo; Appendix 1, 1001, **8**: *Data mense septembrio, die tertia, anno nono regnante Rotberto rege*. See Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 2, pp. 30-2 with fn.

²⁶⁸ Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers, Ibid., fol. 8 vo; Appendix 1, 1001, **2**: *Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et homicidiis et voluptatibus se dantes mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt*.

²⁶⁹ *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, ed. Weber, here p. 1878 : John 5:19: *...et mundus totus in maligno positus est...*

motivated by the count's desire for a new wife, and it was almost certainly the reason for which the annal of Saint-Aubin seems to blame him for the fire of the city of Angers just a few days after Elisabeth's execution:

1000 – First fire of the town of Angers, which occurred a few days only after the Countess Elisabeth was burnt alive.²⁷⁰

For the annalist, the fire of the town is the sign of a fault, the unfounded execution of the countess. Although both of these documents had origins or were based on material composed before the mid-eleventh century, it seems unlikely that these sources were the product of a single earlier source and there is no indication in either of any alternative reason why the count's reputation should have been so attacked.²⁷¹ Indeed, if the story had been the product of a single earlier source, it would be surprising that this schema should propagate an anti-comital agenda in only this one charter, and absent in the other electoral charters where Fulk Nerra was shown to be involved. The inclusion of mention of murder and sinful pleasure, then, probably had more to do with local conditions and the sensitivity of the original scribe to events.

²⁷⁰ *Annales Sancti Albini Andegavensis*, ed. Halphen, pp. 1-49, here p. 3 : *M. – Prima incensio Urbis Andegave, que evenit paucis diebus post combustionem comitisse Helisabeth.* ; *Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, eds. Marchegay and Mabille, pp. 217-328, here p. 260 : *Qui post mortem primae uxoris, cum Helisabeth quoque causa adulterii concremasset, Hildegardem puellam illustrem duxit uxorem.* ; T. Véron, "Foulques Nerra (987-1040). Un prince qui sait contourner la norme. La question de l'héritage de l'évêque d'Angers, Renaud II (973-1005)" in *Le prince et la norme. Ce que légiférer veut dire*, edited by J. Hoareau-Dodinau, G. Métairie, and P. Texier (Limoges, 2007), pp. 405-20 ; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here p. 44.

²⁷¹ On the dating and origin of the *Historia, Chroniques de Églises d'Anjou*, (Paris, 1869), pp. xxiv-xxxi.

After this arenga, the disposition describes Fulk's delegation of Abbot Hubert with the agreement of the bishop of Angers, Renaud, the noble monks and faithful lay nobles:

Accordingly I, Count Fulk of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of Rainald, Bishop of Angers, and of the noble monks, and also of our loyal nobles we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Hubert...²⁷²

It is notable that the consent of the monks appears here, next to the bishop. This is something that was unprecedented, and so although a delegation was taking place, there was a new place for the monks within proceedings. At the same time, the absence of the clause of salvation for the count and his parents reduced the patrimonial character of the comital right.

The character of the charter altered after this clause, with the absence of the grant of free election. Instead, the text of this charter turned to resemble the acclamation described by the charter concerning 988, with the participation of canons and layman.

...without denying the choice of the monks living in that place. And in addition to all these things [with the consent of the] acclaiming noble canons or lay [canons]...²⁷³

Jarousseau's claim that this constituted evidence of an *acclamatio* and proof that a form of election had taken place seems over sanguine about the affair; it seems more likely that the inclusion of these groups was there to add weight to records of

²⁷² *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829, fol. 8 vo; Appendix 1, 1001, 4: *Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine Fulco Andecavorum comes una cum consensu Rainaldi andecavensis episcopi vel etiam nobilium monachorum seu etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Huncbertum*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*; Appendix 1, 1001, 4-5: *...salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium 5. et super his omnibus adclamantis nobilium canonicorum seu laicorum...*

the affair, to act almost like witnesses in showing that they would lend support to the outcome of proceedings. The act ends by repeating verbatim the model of the abbot according to the Benedictine Rule given in the charter of 988, moving the focus from comital actions, including grants of immunities and protection, to a focus on the role of the abbot. Thus, this election did not take place according to the sole choice of the monks, and instead Fulk occupied the place that in the circumstances of 988 had allowed Abbot Gontier to occupy. On this occasion, the signature of only the scribe, Galon, appears.

After the relatively long abbacy of Humbert, the following charter in 1027 returned to the exclusive delegation of the count on the model of that used for Abbot Gerard. Fulk Nerra delegated Primaldus.²⁷⁴ This short charter carried the reduced arenga, before Fulk Nerra appointed Primaldus as abbot of Saint-Aubin, with the consent of his loyal nobles, and for the salvation of his soul and those of his parents and other ancestors. The grant of free election for the monks was reinstated, as was that of immunity. The patrimonial character is continued in the confirmations, which show Fulk alone signing the charter.

The Context

The charter granting this refoundation records the count's arranging of the abbacy as lay founder together with his choice of the first regular abbot, Vidboldus. Having appointed this regular abbot in his role as re-founder of the abbey, Count Geoffroy Grisegonelle's grant to Saint-Aubin stipulated that free abbatial elections, to be carried out by the community of Saint-Aubin and subject to the consent of the count, should be used to select new abbots in future accessions.²⁷⁵ Other clauses

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Appendix 1, 1027.

²⁷⁵ Appendix 1: *Praefecimus quoque fratribus eiusdem loci bone testimonii bonaeque conversationis abbatem, nomine Widbauldum, qui dominico gregi velut bonus pastor diebus suis insistat, et post obitum quandoque ipsius, cum nostro generisque nostri futuri assensu, successor ei, qui a fratribus eiusdem loci electionis privilegio aptus inventus fuerit,*

promised the restitution of usurped goods of the abbey, an almost total exemption from the jurisdiction of comital officers, and threatened severe punishments for those violating the provisions of the act.

Although reform was introduced and the lay abbacy renounced, the role of the count in the charters of election which followed this reform is much more active and the role of the community much less so than a grant of free elections might have implied would be the case. Indeed, the charter of election of 968 lays a strong emphasis on the role of the count, and also the source of his power and his right to involvement in events. The whole arenga outlines a schematic of the world that placed the count in a position of responsibility given to him by God in order that he protect society. The use of *mandatum* (orders, commands) to describe God's orders within this scheme confirms this sense of interplay between God and the count. Its usage concerning delegation of power is well documented, an implication that can be seen to have focused on divine command by the late tenth century.²⁷⁶ However, Guillot has pointed to a diploma of Otto I concerning the 946 foundation of the bishopric of Havelberg and its staffing as indicating that the term could be used to show the delegation of power by a governor to his agent: as founder of the bishopric, the king had the prerogative to designate the first bishop, and *mandatum* is used at the end of the document to refer to the diploma in its entirety.²⁷⁷ Although unusual, such an understanding of the term in the case of the charters of election becomes logical if we understand that granting this charter of election allowed the count to exert a political influence on the monastery, to make

substituatur; on the charter, see Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 138-51 and Dubois, "L'affirmation progressive du droit des moines de 966 a 1082 a l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers", p. 226.

²⁷⁶ See Guillot, "Délégation de pouvoir", pp. 154-5. From the third century A.D. the term applied primarily to imperial orders addressed to officers appointed by the Emperor and acting on his behalf. C. du Cange and L. Favre, *Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis* (Niort, 1883-87), vol. 5, col. 212a-213b.

²⁷⁷ Guillot, *ibid.* citing *MGH DD Conradi I, Heinrich I et Ottonis I diplomata*, ed. T. Sickel, (1879-84), here pp. 156, no. 76.

a statement about his own status to benefactors of the community, and to all who interacted with the institution. The connotations of this and of the domain of the count at 5 point to the comital role having been delegated by God, and his status within society as being more than a mere knight who was able to dominate others by force. The count was the agent of God, created in this role to fulfil requirements laid down.²⁷⁸

The sense of the count as an agent of God supports the conception of the power he exercised as being conceived of in ways very similar to Carolingian ideals of lordship.²⁷⁹ If the king had held a certain control of the Church legitimised by his consecration, the *ministerium* that this ceremony accorded him gave him a responsibility for the protection of the Church, as well as to ensure it proper justice, and resolve issues of abuses carried out against it and its property.²⁸⁰ With the comital absorption of such concepts of authority, their claims to have a certain responsibility for the Church can be seen to be justified in the statements made by such an arenga.²⁸¹ Although lacking the legitimacy of authority over the Church that consecration and unction brought, the custom of such an involvement in

²⁷⁸ On *dominium* over monastic houses, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 211-21, 241-2, 890-5; by contrast, Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 353 points to the *dominium* the count exercised in these charters as putting him in the position of being able to restore monastic life.

²⁷⁹ Cf. Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d'Angers, 1148-1240*, vol. 1, p. iii; Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 23-5.

²⁸⁰ J.-H. Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire," *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* vol. 235 (2010), pp. 107-134, here pp. 112-4.

²⁸¹ K. F. Werner, "La Genèse des duchés en France et en Allemagne" in *Nascita dell'Europa ed Europa carolingia. Un'equazione da verificare* (Spoleto, 1981), pp. 175-207 ; J. Howe, "Monastera Semper Libera: Cluniac-Type Monastic Liberties in Some Eleventh-Century Central Italian Monasteries," *The Catholic Historical Review* vol. 78, no. 1 (1992), pp. 199-34 ; M. Aurell I Cardona, "Le lignage aristocratique en Provence au XIe siècle," *Annales du Midi* vol. 98 (Apr.-Jun. 1986), pp. 149-63, here p. 156 ; Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 372.

ecclesiastical affairs seems to have attached itself to the notion of governmental authority. Instead of receiving consecration, the legitimacy of counts to act as leaders of these areas could be demonstrated by the political and military victories: through these they had not only proved their might and ability to enforce their will, but that they had divine favour and had been given their positions by God in order to fulfil a role allotted to them to protect and benefit the Church.²⁸² This is the statement of the count's duty it is also reflected in the use of *nostrum dominatus* translated as it might be with the sense of "our rule", "our lordship", or even "our domain."²⁸³ Thus by the tenth-century, the ability to appoint an abbot sprang from a recognized *dominium* rather than leading to it. It can be concluded, therefore that this action had become a mode of behaviour associated with lordship, and by exercising it the count could demonstrate his position.

Indeed, Guillot, with the endorsement of Genicot, and Foulon, too, pointed to specific occasions in comital charters of the eleventh-century in which the Angevin counts made a point of emphasising the origin of their power, God, by referring to their titles derived from His will in order to emphasise the magnitude of their authority.²⁸⁴ The first of these was in a charter of 989 granted by Fulk Nerra in

²⁸² Foulon, *Église et réforme* p. 25.

²⁸³ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 218. In periods of vacancy pre-Carolingian kings were not only the public owners of church lands, but had the right to make abbots, thus their "lordship" over such foundations covered not only the property benefice, but also the abbatial *honor*. Wood has described the situation of ninth century abbots as lords of their church's lands, granted for the duration of their lives by an overlord, but maintained the distinction of kings as lords of the prelates and their churches, emphasising the role of oversight that such lords had in periods of vacancy over not just the property of a monastery, but its abbatial office. See also Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 353 which interprets the *dominium* that the count exercised as putting him in the position of being able to restore monastic life in Saint-Aubin and appointing abbots.

²⁸⁴ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 354-5; Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes", here p. 105 ; Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 24-5 ; Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire", here pp. 112-3.

which the voice of the count describes him as*ego quidem Fulco Dei nutu Andegavensium comes*....²⁸⁵ Foulon has pointed to the peak of this conception of divine-comital connection happening under Geoffroy Martel, who was titled ...*Goffridus a divina providentia comes*... in ten charters to underline the origin of the comital authority he exercised, and reflecting the assistance of divine Providence in his elevation.²⁸⁶ It is this notion of rulership that the arengae of these charters broadcast; if the *arenga*'s opening statement of hierarchy and obedience was a statement of the duties of all men, it placed an emphasis on that of the count as a plenipotentiary and implicitly justified the actions he was about to take within a monastic institution.

For the charter concerning the abbatial elevation of 968, it seems that the inclusion of strong statements of comital authority, as well as verbalising the founding of monastic houses by layman which implied their virtues, was a means for the count to make a statement of his proprietary attitude to the foundation. In the second half of the tenth century, Geoffrey Grisegonelle was pursuing a policy of Angevin expansion, turning the city of Angers into the comital power-base, and strategically placed his *fideles* in key areas surrounding the city to protect his territories, especially along strategic river routes.²⁸⁷ His association and strong influence within Saint-Aubin provided him with not only a degree of legitimacy to his actions by making statements about his role in society, but also enabled him to grant

²⁸⁵ *Cartae de Bessiaco, Archives d'Anjou recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province*, ed. Paul-Alexandre Marchegay (Angers, 1843), vol. 2, p. 60, no. 1.

²⁸⁶ *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale Saint-Maurice d'Angers*, ed. Urseau, here p. 94, no. 45; Foulon, *Église et réforme* pp. 24-5 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 354-5 and fns. 2 and 6 for further examples of Geoffrey Martel's use of the affiliation.

²⁸⁷ Bernard S. Bachrach, "Geoffrey Grey mantle, Count of the Angevins, 960-987: A Study in French Politics," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* vol. 17 (1985), pp. 1-67 ; Hendrik Teunis, "Presenting Respect in the Eleventh Century: Odo of Blaison and the Canons of St.-Lézin" in *Medieval transformations : texts, power, and gifts in context*, edited by Esther Cohen and Mayke De Jong (Leiden, 2001), pp. 189-202, here pp. 192-3.

beneficia to such men provided out of the lands of the great abbeys of Saint-Aubin and Saint-Serge d'Angers.²⁸⁸ The disappearance of sections 3 and 4 of the arenga in charters after that of 968 removed references to the vengeance of God and the desolation of churches and allowed the focus of the arenga to remain on the legitimacy of the count's role, as did the note of murders and worldly pleasures in 2.

For the charter of 977, the shortened arenga and comital character of the act with the inclusion of the count's son, Fulk Nerra, giving his consent, appears as a straightforward comital grant, the close association of the comital family and the support of their nobles adding to the lay character of the moment. Indeed, the appointment of the abbot feels like any other grant, including that of free elections for the future and the grant of immunity given (5), that allowed the lord to assert that these honours were his to give, and that his rights over the monastery were strong. In this respect, Grisegonelle was ensuring that the strong association of the comital family was being demonstrated for the future. The signatures of the monks, bishop, and count at the end of the act followed this statement of proprietorship, these being the names of those who instituted and accepted the arrangement.

The difference with the charter of 996, in which these statements of comital lordship over Saint-Aubin were made yet more strongly, is almost certainly due to the context in which the charter was created. Where Geoffrey Grisegonelle had assured the participation of the bishop and monks, there is nothing of the like here, and Fulk Nerra showed himself to be sole master of the monastery by appointing the next abbot with the consent of only his lay nobles, and signing the act alone. The family association with the institution was maintained with the *pro remedio* clause, although the absence of the names of his parents detached all personalities save his from the event. This therefore appears as a strong statement of the comital prerogative, made following the abbatial succession of 988, in which the outgoing abbot took the lead role. It may therefore have been a reaction to this, and a sign that Fulk wanted to impose himself strongly on monastery in the first

²⁸⁸ Hendrik Teunis, *ibid.*, p. 193.

abbatial succession to have happened in his reign following the death of an abbot. The absence of any episcopal role may have been due to this desire to show that his authority was not limited, as regarded the ability to appoint an abbot, but it is also true that his uncle, Bishop Guy du Puy, had died on 8th February 996 before the accession of abbot Girard, and therefore the potential to have a powerful bishop confirm the act and the family's influence in Saint-Aubin, was gone.²⁸⁹

Diplomatically, the period in which the accession of Girard took place was particularly difficult for the count of Anjou. At the death of Hugh Capet, on 24th October 996, Fulk lost an important ally in his struggles against the count of Blois, especially so when the king's successor, Robert II became infatuated with the widow of Odo I, Bertha.²⁹⁰ During this time, the northern and western frontier of Anjou were threatened by Geoffrey-Berengar, a supporter of Blois who controlled Nantes, both of whom were allied with the Normans, traditional enemies of the counts of Anjou. With royal alliances being redrawn, Fulk's own marriage to Elisabeth, daughter of Bouchard of Vendôme, count of Paris, and heir to Vendôme since her brother had become Bishop of Paris, lost its meaning, especially as the couple had produced only a daughter to inherit the county.²⁹¹ And, for his public image and in his struggle with the house of Blois for control of Tours, the rupture in relations between the canons of Saint-Martin and the public penance Fulk had to make after he violently entered the cloister in the taking of Châteauneuf de Tours, was a further drawback.²⁹² In context of his political situation, it is therefore not

²⁸⁹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, here pp. 64-5, no. 40.

²⁹⁰ Bernard S. Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra, the neo-Roman consul, 987-1040 : a political biography of the Angevin count* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 80 ; Dachowski, *First Among Equals*, pp. 173-4.

²⁹¹ Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 44-6.

²⁹² Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 62-4 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 24-5, 27; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, pp. 26-30 ; Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), pp. 106-7 on the count's public humiliation. Added loss came from the king's appointment of a Blésois man, Walter, to be

surprising that the count affirmed his power at Saint-Aubin at the heart of his principality. The charter enabled him to display his authority and the basis of his power, as well as his ability to rule justly, by responsibly fulfilling the role that had been granted to him by God.

An exacerbation of the count's spiritual image may help explain the changes in the formula made for the charter of 1001. Diplomatically, his hand had not improved greatly since 996, as it was not until 1003 that Robert married Constance, Fulk's cousin, enabling a resumption of diplomatic relations with the king and between Anjou and Vendôme. The year 1000 had been an eventful one for the Count of Anjou, with local chronicles recording a severe fire of Angers following the execution of Countess Elisabeth on the his false accusations of adultery.²⁹³ The Count had also been required to perform public penance at Saint-Martin de Tours in recompense for abuses he and his nobles had carried out.²⁹⁴ Jarousseau described the appearance of the monks in the charter as an intervention achieved by Bishop Renaud in a period of good relations between episcopacy and count, but in light of these events, it seems more likely that this "bonne entente" was rather a demonstration by the count of his unity and cooperation with these religious elements after recent events which might appear to have had damaged his reputation.²⁹⁵ Indeed, the adoption of elements from the 988 charter that emphasised the role of the good abbot as laid down by the *RSB* seems to allow more monastic self-awareness than previous charters had done. Indeed, Jarousseau has cited charter of 1003 in favour of Saint-Aubin that describes the

treasurer of Saint-Martin de Tours, in opposition to the canon's own pro-Angevin candidate.

²⁹³ cf. p. 98 above.

²⁹⁴ Guy Jarousseau, "Les Évêques d'Angers et la Collégiale Saint-Martin de Tours (fin IXe siècle - Xe siècle)" in *Auctoritas. Mélanges offerts au professeur Olivier Guillot*, edited by Giles Constable and Michel Ruche (Paris, 2006), pp. 365-384, here pp. 377-79.

²⁹⁵ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 366.

charter of election's description of Humbert's elevation made by the acclamation of canons and with the consent the monks and bishop as a spontaneous vow.²⁹⁶

It nonetheless maintained a comital appointment of the abbot, made with the agreement of the bishop and noble monks, listed before the agreement of the count's noble laymen, and must therefore be seen as a means for the count to have instituted a change and displayed his power in the comital city of Angers. The value of this text to the display of comital prestige can be seen when the events it describes are compared to a document contained within the Cartulary *noir* of the Cathedral of Angers, also purportedly dating to 1001. This latter shows Bishop Renaud denouncing simony and the selling of episcopacies and monasteries by the king.²⁹⁷ Fulk was not here accused of simony, but it is clear that certain lay

²⁹⁶ *Cartulaire de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, Bib. mun. d'Angers, ms. 829, fol. 43 ro: *Anno VII regnante Rotberto rege, episcopatumque optinente XXX^{mum} annum optimo viro Rainaldo episcopo, in pastoralique regimine III videlicet anno desudanti abbati Unberto, constructa est ac condita ecclesia ab ipso videlicet venerabili viro, abbati Unberto, suisque in Christo fidelissimis monachis, spontaneo voto in honorem Domini nostri et Salvatoris mundi, necne et gloriose sius genitricis Marię preclarissimoque eius confessore Albino, super ripam Ligerim, in villa que vulgo vocatur Saiaco*. Cited in Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 367 ; Jarousseau, "Épiscopat et églises en Anjou au haut Moyen Âge," pp. 473-86. On the traditional virtues of acclamation and spontaneity in the Church see amongst others, Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité", pp. 359-63 and p. 364 citing Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, in *MGH SS rer. Merov.* Lib. II, pars 13; Grossi, "Unanimitas – Alle origini del concetto di persona giuridica nel diritto canonico", here pp. 256-314 ; Gaudemet, "Unanimité et majorité", pp. 152-6 ; Ganzer, "Das Mehrheitsprinzip bei den kirchlichen Wahlen des Mittelalters", here p. 65.

²⁹⁷ *Cartulaire noir de la cathédrale Saint-Maurice d'Angers*, ed. Urseau, here pp. 54-5, no. 23: *Sed inardescence malicia seculi hujus et cupiditate grassante, reges, qui vestigia virorum religiosorum sequi deberent, coeperunt easdem hereditates vendere, episcopis episcopatus, abbatibus abbatias, atque ipsi episcopi seu abates a monasteriis abstrahere, cum deberent magis augere quam minuere et hominibus secularibus in hereditatem tradere: unde usque hodie mos inolevit ut eas in hereditate habere videantur*. Jarousseau, "Electio, voluntas et

involvements in the Church were not looked upon favourably, and could be turned into political points by enemies. The agreement of the count and the monks cited in the charter of election was therefore a valuable tool for comital prestige.

The return to a more standard formula for the electoral charter of 1027 is a reflection of a more stable political situation. Continuing his father's policy of expansion and expanding Angevin influence in nearby areas, after an insecure first decade of his reign, Fulk Nerra is famous for the number of stone buildings constructed during his reign, both castles and abbeys, which formed part of his expansionist policies. More than a century ago, in 1906, Louis Halphen pointed to the role in an offensive strategy played by the construction of fortified buildings in Langeais, Montrichard, Montbazou, Montboyau, Loches, Mirebeau, and pointed to the example of the construction of Trèves around 1015, which may or may not have been a means of preparing for the seizure of Saumur, in 1026.²⁹⁸ Other strongholds built in Montrevault, Montfaucon and Saint-Florent, and the fortifications of châteaux at Angers, Amboise, Chinon among others, were likely to have been built as part of a defensive strategy. If different motivations and effects have been argued, the fact of a consistent policy of building took place in Fulk Nerra's reign cannot be denied, and the marks these made on the landscape are in many cases still visible.²⁹⁹ The stronghold of Loches and the monastery of Beaulieu there were especially important to Fulk, and it was in this monastery that he came to be buried in 1040.

ordinatio, Quelques jalons sur les modes de désignation des évêques en Gaule de l'époque mérovingienne au début du XIIe siècle", pp. 56-7, fn. 72.

²⁹⁸ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, pp. 153-7, contended by Bachrach, "Castle Building", here p. 534.

²⁹⁹ Eg. Guillot described Fulk Nerra's building policy as the most important means of supporting his power. *Guillot, Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 281; Bachrach, "Forma Fidelitatis" ; Bachrach, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches" ; Cf. Foulon, "Beaulieu-lès-Loches".

The period in which these monuments were being created was therefore one in which Fulk's political position was much more favourable than it had been. With the marriage of his cousin to the king in 1003, relations with the king and with Vendôme were resumed.³⁰⁰ In 1026 he captured Saumur, although the traditional struggles against Blois continued, and fortifications in Saint-Florent-le-Vieil had to be built in response to opposition in Nantais.³⁰¹ The document therefore shows a comital delegation approved by the count's faithful nobles, with the traditional grants of free abbatial election and immunities as per the formula of 996. There is no episcopal role, and only the signature of the count appears, confirming his ability and right to exercise this function within the monastery.

The one inconsistency to the formula used for the early charters of election pertains to the charter of 988. This departure from the formula that had been used before 988 to record monastic elevations in the monastery of Saint-Aubin d'Angers came about at an interesting period in Anjou's history. Geoffrey Grisegonelle had died the previous year, on 21st July 987, and the new count was therefore the fifteen-year old Fulk Nerra. This was the first abbatial succession in Saint-Aubin of his reign, and although the actions of Abbot Gontier do not obviously diminish the links between the abbatial role and the count, at the same time they seem to acknowledge an increased role for the monastic community and other ecclesiastics in comparison to foregoing charters of election.³⁰²

The arenga set a new tone for this charter, one in which the community following the *RSB* was of preeminent importance in contrast with the previous tradition of

³⁰⁰ Guillot, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 15-55, esp. pp. 39-43 and 44-53.

³⁰¹ *Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, eds. Marchegay and Mabille, pp. 217-328, here p. 276 ; *Fragmentum veteris historiae Sancti Florentii in Chroniques des Églises d'Anjou*, eds. P. Marchegay and É. Mabille, (Paris, 1869), pp. 207-16, here p. 212 ; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 75-6 ; Brunterc'h, "Maine ou Anjou? Histoire d'un canton entre Loir et Sarthe (VIIe-XIe siècles)", p. 66 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 152-4.

³⁰² Guillot, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 153.

emphasising the role of the count. The religious tone created by alluding to Biblical passages suggested the role of the monks in ensuring the eternal salvation of their community that helped to emphasise the importance of the community and their *Rule*. Having established the importance of the *RSB* in this scheme, the reminder that it required an abbot to lead the community took on a new significance.

The central action of the charter is the elevation of Renaud by Abbot Gontier, who needed a man to succeed him and to care for the community as abbot of Saint-Aubin. The verb used to describe the elevation is *providere* (to provide for, make provision), which presents a distinct contrast to the verbs of designation used by the count to elevate new abbots. It is clear that the charter does recognise another form of elevation and demonstrates this through the use of different terminology to describe the comital delegation of Gontier, *praeficere*. The unspoken connotations of the latter, which created a certain relationship between the grantor and recipient, cannot be ignored.

Similarly, the consent of plural bishops might may be an indication of the stylised nature of the event being described, or a desire to describe it in terms of some of the large ecclesiastical elevation gatherings of the early Church to add legitimacy. The involvement of the only named bishop, Guy, bishop of le Puy, former abbot of Saint-Aubin, brother of Grisegonelle and uncle to Fulk Nerra, is unsurprising, with an interest in the abbey coming from both familial heritage and professional curiosity. But it is hard to imagine an event of this magnitude happening in central Angers without the presence of the Bishop of Angers. Bachrach, in his 1993 study of Fulk Nerra, saw the absence of a named Renaud of Angers here as proof of a rupture between the Viscount Renaud and the Count of Anjou around 987-8.³⁰³ Fanning, too has pointed to Renaud's episcopacy as a failure and argued that by opposing the count his episcopacy ended in virtual exile from the diocese and his family.³⁰⁴ It is true that the presence of Guy of le Puy would probably have

³⁰³ Bachrach, *Fulk Nerra*, pp. 29-33 ; also cited in Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 358.

³⁰⁴ Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 5, 87.

eclipsed him on such an occasion, but there is no other record of any animosity between the two. At the time of this election, however, he was only five years into his 32 year episcopacy, and can be demonstrated to have been assisting comital policy between 3rd July and 24th December of the previous year by signing the act of foundation of Saint-Pierre du Dorat, founded by Count Boson of la Marche, an ally of Guy du Puy and the counts of Anjou.³⁰⁵ If his policy of rebuilding and enhancing the remains of the cathedral of Angers did put him on a collision course with Fulk, then around this time he was dutifully signing charters in support of comital allies. It might therefore be suggested that there is evidence for dating the rupture to after 988.

However much it is said that the accession of 988 was described as an election *a clero et populo*, showing awareness of the requirements of the *RSB* as well as antique Church practices, the role of the monks is still consent. The count's appearance in this early series of charters demonstrated that rights over the abbacy returned to the comital family to be exercised anew on the death of each abbot, it was part of the comital office, and exercising it allowed the count to demonstrate his authority and strengthen his association with the monastery. The charter of election of 988 only strengthens this conception, describing the comital delegation in terms that made clear his role, and demonstrating on an occasion where the outgoing abbot had not died, but was leaving the monastery to travel on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, that the necessary conditions had not occurred for the abbacy to return to the count to protect as entrusted guardian until he granted it to a man he deemed suitable to hold the office.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵ *Gallia Christiana in provincias ecclesiasticas distributa* ed. Denis de Saint-Marthe, vol. 4 of 16 vols. (Paris, 1715-1865), pp. 434-4.

³⁰⁶ Guy Jarousseau, "Jus proprietarium et jus ecclesiasticum. La restauration de l'abbaye de Saint-Maur-sur-Loire au milieu du IX^e siècle" in *Le pouvoir et la foi au Moyen Âge. Mélanges en mémoire du professeur Hubert Guillotel*, edited by J. Quaghebeur and S. Soleil (Rennes, 2010), pp. 21-44, here p. 23.

This apparent discrepancy between the charter of reform and descriptions of practice demonstrates a tension between the initial desire of the prince to re-establish the monastic norm by reaffirming the free election by monks, and the political necessities to make statements about his place in society.

Concerning the balance of power portrayed in the series of electoral charters under investigation here, Guillot concluded from the active appearance of the count that the reform of 966 had allowed the maintenance of hereditary comital rights over the foundation.³⁰⁷ Jarousseau nuanced this, perhaps reading the letter of the charters, if not the situation, more precisely, stating that the count reserved a hereditary right to invest in the refoundation, but intervened to delegate in a comital prerogative that remained unchanged in Saint-Aubin until 1096.³⁰⁸ Guillot's theory was, and Jarousseau's theory would probably have been, largely supported by Genicot, who suggested that the maintenance of these specific privileges might have been accepted in return for the apparent reduction in the count's immediate authority over the place.³⁰⁹ However, other theories have a desire on the part of the comital family to retain the nomination rights they had formerly held as a display of might.³¹⁰ None, however, have considered the function of the charters in the society around them, nor why this type of document was suddenly produced after the refoundation of Saint-Aubin. The variations in these charters become apparent when they are considered as a group, and small details thereby reveal their significance. Considering each of these changes above, it becomes evident that they can be explained as reactions to the political context in which the count found himself on the occasion of each abbatial vacancy. Each charter therefore reveals itself to have been a means for the count to institute and publicise a change in

³⁰⁷ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 146-51.

³⁰⁸ Jarousseau, "La norme monastique", p. 350.

³⁰⁹ Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes", p. 107.

³¹⁰ Pailloux, "Les Elections abbatiales en l'abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers au XIe siècle," pp. 27-38.

Angevin society, and display the status that he had in order to cause these alterations. Thus, in moments where political events were not favourable to his ambitions, it can be seen that the charters provided him with a means to declare the authority and legitimacy of his rule, his piety in fulfilling the responsibilities entrusted to him as a guardian of society. As such, the charters were performative, an instrument of power that allowed the count of Anjou to display and use his power within his territories.

Mutation?

In 1037 an electoral charter pertaining to an elevation in the monastery of Montier-la-Celle in the diocese of Troyes showed a break with the themes of earlier charters of election. As the early charters of election show, the lay lord exerted a defining control over such moments, appointing the abbot with or without the consent of other members of Angevin society. The change in this new charter, however, was the inclusion of the description of a dual investiture whereby spiritual and temporal elements of the abbatial office were conferred on a chosen person by two separate authorities. This altogether altered the way the process by which an individual acceded to an abbey was described.³¹¹

Charters of election are not known to have been produced regularly. By looking at the features of each charter in comparison to others of the same genre, we can better understand the documents and gain further clues as to their role in the society that produced them. This is why it is important to include the single charter concerning an elevation in 1037 in a monastery overseen by the house of Blois in this investigation. Moreover, the formula used in this charter was found again, with slight modifications, employed in charters of election in Angers, for Saint-Aubin in 1056, and le Ronceray in 1073, and the context of its production and its intentions are therefore of critical import to an understanding of those produced in Saint-Aubin and le Ronceray.

These charters collectively have been cited as evidence of a reform of investitures that pre-dated more famous ecclesiastical movements that sought to limit the involvement of laymen in religious offices. The charter of 1037 exists among the works of Fulbert of Charters and describes a role played by Abbot Albert of Marmoutier, a character who also appears in the 1056 charter of election and one further, from 1055, which promulgates similar themes if it does not follow the formula of text of 1037. Unsurprisingly, the period of time between these charters

³¹¹ Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here p. 81

has been considered closely, and it has been suggested that the local reform that took place required the support of a favourable lord or the influence of papal encouragement. This latter had been pointed to as the stimulus for these mid-century investiture reforms by virtue of the Council of Tours of 1054, attended by the legate Hildebrand and several other “reformist” ecclesiastics, and the sudden re-appearance of the text of 1037 in an electoral charter only a few years later, in 1056.

However, as conveniently as these events seem to meld together, it will be suggested here that the charters of election do not show such a vigorous reinvention of abbatial investitures as has been suggested. It appears that the comital role in each case is still described in strong terms by the charters, but more than this, that very few of the attendees described as participating in these abbatial successions were new to the experience. The additional details which show a two-stage process of transmitting the abbatial office to a candidate elect are rather the product of the evolution of documents in the eleventh century, the increase in narrative and descriptive content which they had not previously. Whilst the apparent novelty of multiple procedures in abbatial elevations in comparison to the early charters appear to be precisely that, these documents describe the rituals and process of gift-giving which were part of the legal procedure for transferring property, and their originality is only in their new presence in these charters.

It is therefore suggested that these documents instead reflect the *mutation documentaire*, their narratives revealing new details concerning the process of abbatial elevations, and their changing focus suggesting the start of a new monastic self-awareness.

Fulbert of Chartres and Albert of Marmoutier

The charter of election to Montier-la-Celle has been preserved among the papers of Fulbert of Chartres. But a second point connects this charter to the school of Chartres, namely its description of the involvement of Albert of Marmoutier, a man who had been dean of the cathedral of Chartres before becoming abbot of the

Tourainian abbey by 1033.³¹² Albert's life in Chartres would undoubtedly have exposed him to the distinctions between temporal and spiritual that Fulbert of Chartres defines. Indeed, the separation between the spiritual and the temporal was not a new distinction, and both Abbo of Fleury and Bruno of Toul, the future Leo IX, argued for a similar dualist conception of power in the decades just previously.³¹³

³¹² By this date he was to be found providing for a new abbot for the abbey of Saint-Nicholas d'Angers. *Breviculum foundationis et series abbatum Sancti Nicholai Andegavensis* ed. L. Lepeletier, (Angers, 1616), here p. 5 : Postquam vero Baldricus abbas monasterium dereliquit, heremum quo furtim petiit ac postremum maius monasterium repatriavit apud Thabennensium monasterium vitam finivit. Post hunc domnus Albertus Abbas Raginaldum monachum loco eius restituit qui ante benedictionem...fugit....die navitatis beatae marie qui est annus tertius Henrici regis. This was King Henry I, who had acceded to the throne in July 1031. The *breviculum*, written in 1039 as a retrospective history of Saint-Nicholas, does contain some mistakes in the dating of the abbacies of other foundations. However, written concerning a domestic elevation and possibly only six years after the event, there is no reason to doubt a serious mistake in dating this accession, and the involvement of Abbot Albert. See also Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, p. 177 with fn. 204.

³¹³ Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here pp. 82-3, citing J.-F. Lemarignier, "Le monachisme et l'encadrement religieux des campagnes du royaume de France situées au nord de la Loire de la fin du Xe à la fin du XIe siècle" in *Le istituzioni ecclesiastiche della "societas christiana" dei secoli XI-XII. Diocesi, pievi e parracchi*. (Milan, 1975), pp. 357-94, here p. 365, and N.-N. Huyghebaert, "Saint Leon et la lutte contre la simonie dans le diocèse de Verdun," *Studie Gregoriani* vol. 1 (1947), pp. 417-432, here p. 431. The term "dualist," although a term sometimes associated with discussions of gnostic religion, has also been used by historians of this temporal-spiritual distinction. The term here will be used in this latter sense.

Fulbert has been cited by earlier histories as a bishop full of respect for the traditional bonds of loyalty and patronage.³¹⁴ However, his much-cited letter to William of Aquitaine on the duties of a vassal does not appear to give a full portrayal of the concepts Fulbert was considering and advocating during his working lifetime. Both Guillot and Ziezulewicz two decades ago pointed to Fulbert as a “reform-minded bishop,” and several of his letters demonstrate views on ecclesiastical elections that were distinctly reformist.³¹⁵

Even before his episcopate, a letter Fulbert wrote in 1004 demonstrates his belief in the separation of the temporal and spiritual aspects of an abbacy.³¹⁶ Addressed to a sympathetically-minded Abbo of Fleury, it recounted the problems faced by the monks of Saint-Père de Chartres during their attempt to elect a new abbot: Count Thibaud had forcefully placed his own candidate in position despite the monks’ express condemnation of this action. When the monks left the abbey and sought refuge in the cathedral church in protest at these actions, Fulbert wrote to Abbot to lament the destruction of the monastery’s temporal rights by the count. Nonetheless, he pointed out that the core spiritual charisma of monasticism was indestructible and untouchable by laymen, and therefore the count could not annex this central core of monastic life despite the chaos he might wreak on the abbey.³¹⁷ Fulbert seems to have been not only bemoaning the tribulations of lay domination over the process at this early date in his career, but also to have

³¹⁴ On his record as such, see William Ziezulewicz, “The School of Chartres and Reform Influences Before the Pontificate of Leo IX,” *The Catholic Historical Review* vol. 77, no. 3 (1991), pp. 383 - 402, here p. 385.

³¹⁵ Guillot, “A Reform of Investiture”; Ziezulewicz, “The School of Chartres.”

³¹⁶ Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Behrends, here pp. 2-9, no. 1 (dated 2 February - 11 July, 1004).

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 8: *o desolata Galliarum ecclesia... Ubi amplius afflicta Christiani anima respirabit? Hoc nempe solu vel maxime nos confratre videbatur quod, si contingeret ruinas moenium tuorum resarciri non posse, liveret saltem ad firmum adhuc capitolium monasticae vitae confugere.*

perceived of their realm of interference as limited to everything outside the spiritual elements of a monastic foundation.

Between 1008 and 1012/13 Fulbert elaborated on his criteria for canonical election by explaining his refusal to consecrate the new Bishop Theoderic of Orléans. According to Fulbert, Theoderic had apparently become bishop of the see as the royal candidate in opposition, Odalricus, a candidate elected canonically by the clergy and the people of the city. Fulbert gave four reasons for refusing to carry out this consecration, two of which concerned the character and suitability of Theoderic personally, but two of which concerned the procedure and way in which the election had been obtained. The first of these was the necessity that the provincial bishops give their consent to the consecration in writing. The second problem that Fulbert raised was the accusation that he understood the election to have been carried by secular powers. Seeking the legitimacy of antiquity, Fulbert cited a law of Constantine contained in the Theodosian Code, that whatever is done by princes contrary to the law should be null and void, and the Fourth Council of Toledo, that no one should be a bishop who is not elected by the clergy and people of his see, in defence of his stance.³¹⁸

The concept that princes should be the masters of limited and defined areas was to be further developed by Fulbert in the elaboration on his belief in the separation of the *res ecclesiasticae* and the secular world evidenced in a letter to a Bishop G written around 1019/20.³¹⁹ The letter did not concern electoral procedure directly, but in prescribing penance for a deacon who had said Mass, Fulbert cited three short excerpts from a capitulary from the collection of Benedictus Levita, ninth-century author of capitularies of the Pseudo-Isidore, which asserted Church

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 38-45, no. 22: *Contra leges fuerint a principibus obtenta non valeant... Sed nec ille deinceps episcopus erit, quem nec clerus nec populus propriae civitatis elegerit*. See Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here pp. 83-4 ; Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres", here p. 385 .

³¹⁹ Fulbert of Chartres, *ibid.*, pp. 68-71, no. 38.

independence in the face of secular powers. The first two excerpts followed the text of Benedictus Levita closely. The third, however, expunged the reference to secular authority which had appeared in the original text, a demonstration of Fulbert's thoughts concerning the lay role in the Church.³²⁰ He similarly condemned the alienation of Church properties by laymen.³²¹

Shortly after this, in June 1021, Fulbert chided Count Stephen of Troyes for not following prescribed canonical procedure for the election of the Bishop of Troyes that year.³²² Not only was the election that Fulbert described simoniacal, but the king's permission for the candidate's taking possession of the episcopal palace and possessions had not been received before this happened. The consent of the bishops of the province had not been obtained as was required, either. Although this gives a certain recognition to the place of royal consent as well as that from brother bishops, it is significant that the two are listed separately from one another.

Finally, in 1027 and at the very end of his pontificate, Fulbert wrote to Archbishop Robert of Rouen who had just been expelled by his nephew, the new Duke Robert I.³²³ Fulbert's expressions of support recounted the archbishop's position in such a case: the duke could take the *exteriora* away from the ecclesiastic, since it was a matter of temporal objects, but not the *interiora* and the spiritual charisma of his position, which he held by grace of God. The spiritual magistracy that Robert held

³²⁰ *Ibid.*: *Si quis ergo post tot prohibiciones haec decreta apostolica et synodali auctoritate renovata temerare praesumperit, gradus sui periculo subiacebit*; The original text is Benedictus Levita, *Benedicti Diaconi Capitularium Collectio* in *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. D. Migne, vol. 97, col. 835D: *Si quis ergo post tot prohibitiones haec decreta apostolica et synodali atque imperiali auctoritate renovata et maxime omnium imperii nostri populorum ac procerum nostrorum consensu et hortatu conscripta atque firmata temerare praesumperit, si clericus fuerit, gradus sui periculo subiacebit*.

³²¹ Fulbert of Chartres, *ibid.*, pp. 76-9, no. 44.

³²² *Ibid.*, pp. 92-5, no. 52.

³²³ This was just after the death of Robert's other nephew, the Duke Richard III: *ibid.*, pp. 226-9, nos. 126-7, dated "after 5/6 August 1027."

through his guardianship of the *interiora* was an ecclesiastical weapon to lead the duke to salvation and having been granted to him by God, could be removed from him by no man.³²⁴

Fulbert died on 10th April 1028, but the impact that his theories had exerted on the cathedral's chapter can be seen in the problems concerning the succession of Bishop of Chartres. Transcribed into the collection of Fulbert's own letters are those written by the chapter recording that on his death they had been supported by Count Odo of Blois and Chartres in their election of Albert, the cathedral dean.³²⁵ Of Vendômois origin, Albert's family were probably among the vassals of the bishop of Chartres.³²⁶ He had been dean of the chapter possibly as early as 1004, and as the man entrusted with the administration of the diocese of Chartres in 1022 when Fulbert departed on pilgrimage to Rome, would have been a logical candidate for the episcopacy.³²⁷ However, in opposition to the election of this man, King Robert managed to contrive the accession of his own candidate to the bishopric. The canons protested vigorously, and in so doing showed themselves to be the faithful followers of Fulbert's theories on lay jurisdiction within the Church. The preservation of their letters alongside Fulbert's show the influence of his

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 226, 228.: *Sed tibi, pater, haec vel magna consolacio est, quia si abstulit exterior, interiora non potuit. Habes enim ex Dei gratia caritatem qua ipsum errantem revoces, frenum canonicae districtiois quo detrectantem coherceas, virgam qua feras. His utere competenter, donec absolucionem promeritus dicere tibi gaudeat: "Virga tua et Baculus tuus, ipsa me cosolata sunt."*

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, nos. 128-30 and pp. xlvii-li; see also Imbart de La Tour, *Les Élections épiscopales* p. 268.

³²⁶ Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", here pp. 37, fn. 99 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 245. vol. 1, p. 245.

³²⁷ A. Clerval, "Albert" in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique*, edited by A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, and U. Rouzies (Paris, 1912), cols. 1243-35, here col. 1432; concerning Albert's stewardship in Fulbert's absence, see Fulbert of Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Behrends, here pp. 110-14, nos. 65-6.

theories and indicate the contemporary chapter's allegiance to Fulbert's theories.³²⁸

Albert's accession to the bishopric of Chartres had been thwarted, yet it seems that the same man who had supported his elevation on that occasion, Count Odo of Blois, must have also supported his elevation to the abbacy of the great Tourainian monastery of Marmoutier, just outside Tours.³²⁹ The importance of this monastery to the comital house of Blois was high, demonstrated by the vigorous way in which the Count of Blois had reacted against the dependence the foundation was beginning to develop on Cluny in final years of the tenth century and Thibaud's reservation of the place in 1044.³³⁰

Albert's physical and administrative proximity to Fulbert in the cathedral of Chartres make it more than likely that he familiar with Fulbert's beliefs concerning the roles of secular and ecclesiastical authority in Church affairs.³³¹ However, this may well have included Albert's familiarity with Fulbert's concepts of fealty, most famously outlined in his 1020 letter following a request from the Duke of Aquitaine. In setting out a number of expected norms regarding the duties of a vassal, Fulbert enunciated,

"He who swears fidelity to his lord should always keep these six terms in mind: safe and sound, secure, honest, useful, easy, possible. Safe and sound, that is, not to cause his lord any hard as to his body. Secure, that is, not to endanger him by betraying his secrets or the fortresses which make it possible for him to be secure. Honest, that is, not to do anything that would detract from his lord's rights of justice or the other prerogatives which had

³²⁸ Fulbert of Chartres, *ibid.*, nos. 128-9; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 175, fn. 190.

³²⁹ Guillot, *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 36-7 with fns. 180-1, p. 175; Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, p. 140.

³³⁰ On Blésois relations with Marmoutier, see esp. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, pp. 96-116.

³³¹ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 184.

to do with his honour. Useful, not to cause him any loss with regard to his possessions. Easy and possible, not to make it difficult for his lord to do something that would be of value to him and that he could otherwise do with easy, or to render it impossible for him to do what was otherwise possible.”³³²

The third duty outlined here, to be honest, not to detract from his lord’s right or justice, makes for a potentially interesting counterpoint to the theories of a sudden limitation of lay investiture outlines by Guillot and Ziezulewicz. A closer investigation of the charter is needed in order to determine the purpose for which it was produced. However, for the charter for the monastery of Montier-la-Celle, it is suggested that, with all the nuances concerning the relationships between the characters and the political context in which they found themselves that the charter bears, it seems that the charter was a more a means for the young Count Stephen to demonstrate his role and to bind the monastery more tightly to the house of Blois than it was to limit his role on this occasion. This was not necessarily a moment where the count was relinquishing power, but more tightly associating the house of Blois to this monastery in his domains.

The Charter

The charter of 1037 begins rhetorically, describing the importance of peace and love in the Church in a manner typical of a traditional arenga, and continues with the use of popular Biblical quotations John 14:27, (I give you peace, my peace I give to you), and John 13:35, (this is how everyone will know that you are my disciples, when you love each other). Indeed, the arenga makes a powerful statement about monastic life and engaged with a popular allegorical construct of the medieval period: the “sign of love and peace” used to mark out the disciples of Christ was the anointing of the Holy Chrism, which brought participants into the Christian community during the ritual of baptism and which was also symbolically invoked

³³² Chartres, *The Letters and Poems of Fulbert of Chartres*, ed. Behrends, here pp. 90-3, no. 51.

during the celebration of the Eucharist. It will be noted that the two citations are from the Gospel of John and his description of the Last Supper, upon which the celebration of the Eucharist was based.

Having demonstrated the importance of the characteristics of peace and love to catholic religious practice, the arenga continues by stating how this can be obtained in a religious body with a unity of wills (3). More specifically, this is only to be found in those who have a leader in whom their wills are vested. These ideas were strongly influenced by the importance the *RSB* placed on collective behaviour under the authority and guidance of a monastic leader (4),

“so that not living by their own will or obeying their own desires and pleasures, but going along according to another’s judgement and command and dwelling in monasteries, they desire to have an abbot over them. Doubtless such men imitate the words of the Lord when he said: I did not come to do my will but that of him who sent me.”³³³

The concept of unity among an electoral body was an ancient one that harked back to the elections of bishops in the earliest Christian communities, and the legitimacy of antiquity only increased the value attached to the notion.³³⁴ No matter whether one views the *RSB* as a legal text or a statement of faith, it continued this tradition of belief in the sanctity and virtue of collective agreement by requiring the unity of the community’s agreement as the first variety of election allowed for abbatial successions.³³⁵ This was due to the enshrined concept that unanimity in election,

³³³ *Regula Benedicti*, ed. B. Venarde, (London, 2011), here pp. 38-41 ch. 5, verse 12: ...*ut non suo arbitrio viventes vel desideriis suis et voluptatibus oboedientes, sed ambulantes alieno iudicio et imperio, in coenobiis degentes abbatem sibi praeesse desiderant.*

³³⁴ On the election of bishops in Late Antiquity, see Peter Norton, *Episcopal Elections, 250-600: Hierarchy and Popular Will in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2007), esp. ch. 2 ; Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité", pp. 368-70 ; Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas*, pp. 271-84.

³³⁵ Cf. Appendix 1. Grundmann, who viewed the text’s rules on the succession of abbots as an expression of faith, a spiritual action, would have seized upon the charter as evidence of the *Rule* being used in this sense, rather than as a legal text: J.M. Colomer and I. McLean,

united wills, was the product of a superior inspiration, a sign that the Holy Spirit has inspired all to one will and one decision.³³⁶ The concept of just such a collective behaviour under authority is also present in the theology of the sacramental ritual of baptism, which makes baptism an act of collective will expressed in symbol.³³⁷

The important of ecclesiastical leadership is thereafter allied to the unity of wills, stating that God has set superiors in charge for the express purpose bringing the fragility of human weakness into a unity of spirit (5). Where the previous clause had described this superior caste as *praepositus*, someone placed in command or in front, in section 5 they are *prelati*, those set in charge. Ziezulewicz pointed to the appearance of this group here as revealing an episcopal character of the reform emanating from Abbot Albert of Marmoutier's connection to the secular clergy of Chartres and Fulbert, whose works show such a strong use of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.³³⁸ It seems more likely, however, that the term was not so loaded, and that the term was used for rhetorical variation, or to refer to all ecclesiastical superiors. The latter would certainly have been in keeping with a charter that described the appearance and individual roles for both abbot of Marmoutier and bishop of Troyes.

The emphasis on unity of wills under a leader may have been a topos of virtue and justice, but it was also a practical device. In any group there will always be a difference of opinions with regard to decisions to be made, and some disagreement is a normal state.³³⁹ The desire for unified wills within communities was therefore a mechanism of collective life and a pragmatic way of making decisions that carried force or that had a solid support-base.³⁴⁰ Emphasis on it appears in the

"Electing Popes: Approval Balloting and Qualified-Majority Rule," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* vol. 29, no. 1 (1998), pp. 1-22, here p. 3.

³³⁶ Grundmann, "Pars quamvis parva", pp. 243-4.

³³⁷ Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité", pp. 359-61, 364-6, 369.

³³⁸ Peter Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 139.

³³⁹ Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres", p. 389 and fn. 24.

³⁴⁰ Moulin, "Sanior et Maior pars", here pp. 371-2.

arenga of this charter directly before the first action of the charter, the selection of the new abbot by the monks of Montier-la-Celle, therefore, as a means to characterise the virtue of their collectivity and legitimise the elevation of their chosen candidate.

Thus the narratio opens with a reiteration of the desire for the ideas of peace and love that encapsulated the Church before describing the death of Abbot Warinus and the selection of Bernard to replace him (6). No mechanism for the monks' selection of Bernard given, but after the arenga's emphasis on the virtue of collectivity, it is presented as a corporate action, accomplished, and with one outcome. The following clause then strongly echoes pervious sentiments concerning the need for a leader in order to justify the monks' action, and also connects to Carolingian traditions of characterising the Benedictine superior as "father".³⁴¹

It is after all this emphasis on unity and corporate action that Abbot Albert is reported to have assisted the monks in their election, suggesting his role as a temporary leader or president able to assist a unity of wills and therefore a virtuous selection. His precise contribution is described as the addition of advice and authority to the monk's selection process, *consilium*, being both the counsel a vassal owed his lord and the lord's right to advise his vassal. Thus, the action did not have to apply to only one strata of society, and it cannot be assumed that Albert was imposing his desires on the community.³⁴² In this charter he appears associated with the community rather than any other character, assisting their election and then leading their chosen man to the count and countess (8-9). As Marmoutier was already known to have provided monks to become the abbots of

³⁴¹ Appendix 3, 1037, 6-7: *...because we long to possess the bond of peace and the sign of Christian teaching... we have chosen a certain brother...whom we wish to take charge of us like a father an in accordance with his ruling unite the differences of our opinions, lest we are sound strangers to the teachings of Christ by our conflicting opinions.* See chapter 2, fns. 52-4 with relevant text.

³⁴² Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas*, p. 272 : *consilium*.

other monasteries, it might be suggested that Albert was involved in selection of candidate, the text allowing us to see him at most presiding over Bernard's selection.

After Bernard had been chosen by the monks to be abbot, the charter records that Albert brought him before the Countess of Blois and her younger son, Count Stephen of Troyes and Meaux, to receive their investiture (9). The influence of the comital family is apparent with reference to Countess Hermengard, Odo's wife, in whose *dicio* Montier-la-Celle lay. This notion of overarching authority or power in which the monastery lay and naming her as active comital representative before the young Count Stephen, her son, suggests that she may have assumed Odo's authorities as regent. The term *dicio* might be variously translated as authority or power, or rule and domain, but in either case focuses on command or rulership of an area, and the association between the comital family's involvement and this rule is strongly made.

Despite these robust statements of the authority of the comital family over the monastery and the elevation of an abbot, it is in the following words that the existence of a reform of investitures have been grounded by historians, due to the description of the community taking over the temporal things pertaining to the monastery (9-10).³⁴³ It is interesting that the verb used to describe the transfer of temporal goods and that used to describe Odo discharging responsibility for the succession to Albert is the same, *suscipere* (8 and 9). The repetition of the word and the end of two consecutive sentences, rather than an alternative for the sake of variation, suggests a parallel between the two actions. If the two are considered to be the assumption of duties, these being given, then if it belonged to the Countess and Count to give the new abbot the responsibility for the temporal aspects of the monastery, then it belonged to Odo to give Albert the responsibility for the abbatial succession. By this parallel the charter demonstrated that Odo was responsible for the abbatial succession, and it therefore becomes difficult to suggest that the charter demonstrated a reduction in comital rights.

³⁴³ Niermeyer, *lexicon*, p. 255.

Following this investiture with the temporal elements of his abbacy, Albert placed Bernard before the Bishop of Troyes in order that his election be corroborated by ecclesiastical authority and to receive from him the care of souls and a blessing (10). This latter has been cited as the counterpoint to the temporal aspects of the abbatial role, and the charter notes carefully the kind and wise participation of the bishop, emphasising and endorsing his role.

The Context

The decade before this abbatial succession had not been favourable to Odo II. He had lost lands along the Loire, including Saumur in 1026, and thereby an important centre of Blésois authority between Tours and Angers, leaving Tours more vulnerable to Angevin attack. On the other side of Tours, the Angevins controlled Amboise, and Supplicius, the *fidelis* of Fulk Nerra who had been made treasurer of Saint-Martin de Tours, in a show of dominance, built a tower there purported to be so tall that he could see Tours.³⁴⁴ Odo had spent much of his time attempting to expand his influence in Lotharingia to the detriment of the security of lands in the Loire. Thus, the depletion of lands led to Chartres being almost cut off by Fulk Nerra's influence in Vendôme and obstacles provided by the emergence of Angevin castles, especially at Beaugency and Meung.³⁴⁵ Additionally, Angevin power in Maine was growing, further threatening Tours.

When Odo died in 1037, he therefore left a difficult legacy to his sons, Thibaud III, who succeeded him in Blois, and Stephen, who became count of Troyes and Meaux. It has been suggested that the production of charters of election by the counts of Anjou allowed them to display their authority and make statements about their role in society in moments where they felt affirmation was necessary; if this

³⁴⁴ Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture" ; Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres": *Anno Henrici XII^o et Roberti regis XVIII^o, fecit Sulpitius dominus Ambasiae apud Ambasiam turrem lapideam, tam altam quod exinde posset videre Turonis villam et ecclesiam confessoris.*

³⁴⁵ *Chronicon Turonense Magnum* in *Recueil de Chroniques de Touraine*, ed. A. Salmon, (Tours, 1854), pp. 64-161, here p. 119.

interpretation is extended to Troyes, then the reasons for the creation of this electoral charter, where such documents are not previously known to have been produced, becomes more apparent: this charter allowed Stephen to associate himself with the monastery of Montier-la-Celle and Marmoutier and to display the important role the comital family had as guardians of them. Thus, he and his mother appear granting the temporal property of the monastery to the new abbot, providing means for the place's future prosperity, demonstrating their guardianship of it, and associating not just the new count, Stephen, but the comital family. Their association with the area and their lordship of it is revealed in strong form. That his father Odo was shown to have held the responsibility for the abbatial succession has been demonstrated by his entrusting it to Albert, and it is important to emphasise the significance of this point that demonstrates that the comital role in the charter was not limited to the investiture of the temporal, for Odo was the guardian responsible for the abbatial succession.

The role of the bishop's blessing and his presenting the new abbot with the *cura animarum* that constituted the second investiture appears as a new event in the elevation of abbots and has been cited as the second half, the other side of the investiture given by lay powers.³⁴⁶ However, the role of the bishop in the foregoing charters of election is never described, and he is simply described as adding consent, or else he appears as a witness or signatory. It is, however, difficult to imagine episcopal participation in abbatial elevations without some form of blessing taking place, something that did not have to require any change in the balance of power or authority between count and bishop. It therefore seems likely that some form of blessing had been given to new abbots in the earlier charters, even if this was not described.³⁴⁷

One further detail makes it appear that the difference in events being described can be explained by a *mutation documentaire* rather than a pure change of

³⁴⁶ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 183-6 ; Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture" ; Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres".

³⁴⁷ See other examples of this described, Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 186-7, 290-1.

procedure: the notable difference with the charter of election pertaining to 1037 and those relevant to earlier elevations is the comparatively verbose nature of the description of events. After the arenga, there is a narratio that describes the background to the events which the charter is to record or perform, and the descriptions of each stage of the abbot-elect's elevation are in sharp comparison to the statement of achievement that the charters of 968 to 1027 make. This change to include detailed narrative strongly reflects the alterations in charter writing recorded by Barthelemy and others for the eleventh century, and it seems more than likely that what is being witnessed is not so much a change in the procedure that took place, but in the way it was recorded.³⁴⁸

If this is so and the event described did not witness a large decline in the comital role as has previously been suggested, then the influential appearance of Abbot Albert of Marmoutier becomes more comprehensible. The counts of Blois are known to have played an influential part in the reform of Marmoutier in the late tenth century, and a member of their own family was appointed as abbot upon the ejection of Cluniac monks in 998.³⁴⁹ Odo I of Blois and his wife were involved patrons of the monastery and had made a small number of gifts to the monastery before his death in 996. But it was under Odo II that Blésois gifts to the monastery seem to have blossomed, taking the form of gifts of lands, rights, restorations, and a spread of Marmoutian influence under comital patronage.³⁵⁰ This included responsibility for the monastery of Saint-Florent-de-Saumur c. 1020 after its despoliation by an abbot installed by Gelduin of Saumur, in opposition to the candidate of Odo II.³⁵¹ No charter for the succession of Frederick of Tours

³⁴⁸ Bachrach, "Castle Building", here pp. 533, 547-8 ; Duby, *La société aux XIe et XIIe siècles dans la région mâconnaise*, p. 9 ; Barthélemy, *La société*, pp. 95-101, 109-15 ; Barthélemy, "Une crise de l'écrit? ", pp. 97-9 with fn. 24 ; Barthélemy, *Serf, Knight, Historian*, pp. 12-18.

³⁴⁹ See p. 38.

³⁵⁰ Chastang, "Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalité médiévale: la structuration d'un nouveau champ de recherche".

³⁵¹ Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, pp. 67-71, including table 1, which lists Blésois interactions with Marmoutier.

following this exists, but the *Historia Sancti Florentii* states that his elevation took place on the orders of the count of Blois and following the discipline of Marmoutier, and was followed by the blessing of Frederick by the bishop of Angers with Abbot Evrard of Marmoutier in attendance.³⁵² What this Marmoutian tradition constituted is not defined, however it appears that Odo II had deliberately pursued a policy of extending Marmoutian influence whilst maintaining his own involvement. Indeed, the prestige of the monastery and the comital association with this would have enhanced the count's reputation as successful lord and a pious one, and it is notable that favour for Marmoutier extended even into the heart of Anjou, with Fulk Nerra requesting a monk of Marmoutier to become the first abbot of his new monastery of Saint-Nicholas

³⁵² Ziezulewicz, "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (ca. 950-1118)", here pp. 293-4 : *Giraldo vero abbate hominem exuto, Odonis comitis praecepto ac nobilissimorum voto anno MXX [II°], VII Kalendas septembris, ex beati Martini disciplina, eligitur Fredericus in abbatem...Qua maturante actione Andegavis a pontifice Huberto Kalendis septembris abbate Evrado praesente Fredericus consecratur propriisque in locis ab eodem Evrado, praesente comite, de majore monasterio personae Salmuro stabiliuntur. Historia Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, eds. Marchegay and Mabille, pp. 217-328, here pp. 269-70 ; *Annales Sancti Florentii Salmurensis*, in *Recueil d'Annales angevines et vendômoises*, ed. Louis Halphen, (Paris, 1903), pp. 111-126, here p. 118 dates Frederick's succession to 1022: *MXXII. - Hoc anno Fredericus abbas efficitur monasterii Sancti Florentii*; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 176-7 with fns; Ziezulewicz, "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (ca. 950-1118)", pp. 293-4 ; Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", pp. 55-6 points to Hubert of Angers having had episcopal control of the region even before 1026; he is also confident that this was a period of good relations between the bishop and Odo II, before the date at which a false Bull claiming exemption from the bishops of Angers was forged. Ziezulewicz mistakenly dates the bull's fabrication to 1060-2. William Ziezulewicz, "A Monastic Forgery in an Age of Reform, a Bull of Pope John XVIII for Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (April 1004)," *Archivum Historiae Pontificae* vol. 23 (1985), pp. 7-42.

d'Angers in 1020.³⁵³ Angevin favour for the monastery need not be deemed surprising, given the number of times that the town of Tours changed hands from the mid-tenth century and the prestige of the house; Fulk Nerra even made a gift of fishing rights in 989.³⁵⁴

Their interaction and therefore influence with the house, however, was nowhere near that of the house of Blois, and the house remained strictly within the sphere of the count of Blois, even after Geoffrey Martel captured Tours in 1044. At this time, Thibaud kept it within his *proprium dominium*, something that might be determined variously as rule over subjects, superiority over tenants or dependants, or the more classical property, or ownership.³⁵⁵ The text recording this is later than the deeds described, but the comital attitude to Marmoutier even at this later date makes clear the relationship of pre-eminence that the counts of Blois felt themselves to have over Marmoutier. It is therefore appears increasingly unlikely that Albert of Marmoutier was a free agent in 1037, promoting a reform of abbatial investitures that would do anything to damage the comital dominance over such matters.

1055

The appearance of a charter of election for Montier-la-Celle as described may have appeared more strongly to have instituted a reform of abbatial successionary procedure had it established a series of charters which could together be shown to

³⁵³ See Fanning, *ibid.*, pp. 50, fn. 30, and Bernard S. Bachrach, "Robert of Blois, Abbot of Saint-Florent de Saumur and Saint Mesmim de Mincy (985-1011): A Study in Small Power Politics," *Revue bénédictine* vol. 88 (1978), pp. 123-46, here pp. 135-6, 141-3.

³⁵⁴ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 177 with fns. ; Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, pp. 71-2.

³⁵⁵ Guillot, *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 25, C2; Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, pp. 71-3, with table 2. On *dominium*, see Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, pp. 3, 233. The charter dates to 1096, but recounts previous actions.

have demonstrated a reform of investiture. As one solitary charter, it appears to be more a statement of comital presence on a particular occasion.

This is not to say that the process described in the charter was isolated to this one incident. On the contrary, the themes of the charter were repeated in 1055, in an electoral charter pertaining to the abbey of Saint-Florent de Saumur overseen by Albert of Marmoutier.

The charter's arenga repeats the themes of love, agreement, and unity as virtues that were described in the charter concerning 1037. The initial Biblical quotations have disappeared, but not the focus on these merits and the emphasis placed on the necessity for the monks to become one in love, to have unity of thought (1-3), and to do so in order to reach heaven (4). Here the text makes an allusion to the words of Christ in John 14:6, "I am the way, the truth, and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me," emphasising the monks' responsibility to imitate Christ in order to attain heaven. This is continued with another Biblical allusion, this time to John 12:26, "who serves me must follow me," again emphasising the monks' duty to follow the orders of God, the implication being the requirement to unify wills to the same way of thinking to achieve love (5). The required conclusion, that to be Christian the monks must follow these orders of Christ and show unity rather than satisfy their own wills, is then given (6).

The charter of 1037 had described the role of ecclesiastical superiors in ordering diverse wills and overcoming the frailty of man by bringing disparate wills to unity, and this is a theme that is also event in the arenga of 1055. Thus, the need to have leading and submitting elements to the Church is made clear, the role of leaders being involved in bringing together diverse wills in order that unity and its virtue might prevail (7). From a general statement of the necessity of leadership in the Church, the emphasis is brought down to the necessity for this unity in the monastic way of life, and becomes a mechanism to describe the monastic concept of withdrawal from the contemporary world by having no individual wealth so that they may follow the examples of Christ unencumbered under the leadership of the superior (8). The importance of their unity in denial of the world is emphasised

further, with the statement that when a conversion to the monastic way of life does not include a wholehearted rejection of wealth, this false rejection sustains the monk's perverse character and loyalty to the current world, and thus there is disunity within the monastic community (9). The concept of unity as the opposite of sin expressed in this section responded to the concept of the Church as a mystical body held together by the *unanimitas fidelium* willed by God which was expressed not only as a collection of individual voices, but the will of a body.³⁵⁶

After these statements of the importance of unity as the command of God, the narratio relates the selection of Sigo as abbot-elect by the community of Saint-Florent (10). The monastic voice is stronger than in the charter of 1037, with the use of *congregatio* increasing in canonical texts of the eleventh-century with the mounting self-confidence of cathedral chapters and monastic communities.³⁵⁷ The text of the *RSB* used *congregatio* no fewer than fifteen times to designate the group gathered together in the monastery to practice Benedictine observances. This usage was adopted by widely read writers such as Bede and Isidore of Seville, whose influence seems to have seen it adopted more widely to describe the stable monasticism or monastic houses.³⁵⁸ Here it denoted the congregation of monks, using a collective term for them to present the body as an individual unity rather than as a collection of individuals.³⁵⁹

Further legitimacy for the elevation of 1055 is found in the charter's reflections of the virtues demanded of an abbot by the *RSB*, seen in the virtues of Sigo (11).³⁶⁰ Once again, this was judged by the unanimous agreement of the community, *unum omnes pariter*, their equality of voice demonstrating the undivided inspiration that

³⁵⁶ Expressed in a letter of Cyprian, Sharon Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, p. 70.

³⁵⁷ Gaudemet, "Unanimité et majorité", pp. 153-5.

³⁵⁸ Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas*, pp. 104-7.

³⁵⁹ Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité", p. 372.

³⁶⁰ *RSB*, ed. Venarde, pp. 206-9, cap. 64, verses 2... 9: *Vitae autem merito et sapientiae doctrina eligatur qui ordinandus est... oportet ergo eum esse... castum, sobrium, misericordem...* The one to be appointed should be chosen for merit of life and wisdom of teaching... therefore it is fitting that he be... chaste, sober, merciful...

caused them all to be aware of these qualities. The statement that his merits could be judged because the community had long experience of them is rendered somewhat peculiar due to the fact that Sigo was a monk of Marmoutier and not Saint-Florent-de-Saumur, but encapsulates perfectly the constructed nature of the text: it is a record of how things should be, how it was desired they be presented.

As with the procedure described for 1037, once the community had selected their abbot-elect, he was presented to Count Geoffrey Martel, in whose jurisdiction the monastery lay, but here he is also presented to Albert of Marmoutier and the monks of Marmoutier who were present (12). Ziezulewicz has credited the Abbot of Marmoutier for the accession of Sigo.³⁶¹ However, in comparison to the charter of 1037, his role here is much less involved with the community of monks, and his precise role appears more obscure. Seen attending with a group of monks of Marmoutier, it might be suggested that Albert's role here was to provide a Marmoutian to take over the abbacy of Saint-Florent, and he approved this choice. Certainly his former role of presenting the abbot-elect to the monastery's guardians is not enacted in the manner that it had previously been, and it may have been that Albert's presence was being used to lend the prestige that the monastery of Marmoutier brought to the occasion.

Despite some uncertainties as to Albert's role, the order in which these figures were listed is notable, reflecting an order of precedence in which the count was pre-eminent. Indeed, it was the count's authority, *auctoritas*, which is described as having confirmed the election of the monks. This term many official meanings related to recognised and stable power sources, including the orders of kings and papal mandates, and it is therefore likely that the charter intended to show the count's mastery of the situation with which he was presented.³⁶²

These presentations, and the jurisdiction of the count, are demonstrated by the text in a rather odd manner. The presentation of Sigo to the count is first

³⁶¹ Michaud-Quantin, *Universitas*, p. 105.

³⁶² Ziezulewicz, "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (ca. 950-1118)", here pp. 294-5.

mentioned as if it was intended for the count to conform the result of the election. Then, the same presentation to the count is re-characterised, this time as the counterpoint to his presentation to the bishop of Angers, which allowed Sigo's investiture with the charge of souls and in this way it is stated that the count invested Sigo with the rule over the *exterius* of the monastery (13).³⁶³ This apparent division of the abbatial office into two areas of responsibility, variously granted by the count and bishop, caused Ziezulewicz to state that Sigo had been appointed by Albert with the count's role reduced to confirmation of actions carried out by the monks and abbot of Marmoutier.³⁶⁴ Indeed, Sharon Farmer hints that the event might have been more hostile than this, with the introduction of a reform of lay investiture into Saint-Florent by the Blésois house of Marmoutier.³⁶⁵ Indeed, as the Angevin abbey that had been longest under the influence of Marmoutier, it might not have been difficult to find support for a reform that limited the count of Anjou's authority over the place.³⁶⁶ However, the abbatial elevation that is described still gives a strong place to the count, describing his jurisdiction, his investiture of the abbot-elect twice, and affirming his authority to confirm the election of Sigo (12). Considered from the standpoint of the other named characters, it is only after the count that the bishop can bless Sigo, and the mention of Albert's name is not enough evidence to say that he dominated the event. His name might have brought prestige to the affair, but this reflected favourably upon the count, in whose jurisdiction the monastery lay.

Thus, coming after the renewal of the Angevin-Capetian alliance and wars with Normandy that were of mixed success, this charter proclaimed the count's guardianship of the monastery of Saint-Florent in lands that had been taken from Blois.³⁶⁷ It also allowed him to be seen acting as an overseer in an affair attended

³⁶³ Niermeyer, *lexicon*, p. 70.

³⁶⁴ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 182-3 with fns.

³⁶⁵ Ziezulewicz, "Abbatial Elections at Saint-Florent-de-Saumur (ca. 950-1118)", pp. 294-5.

³⁶⁶ Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin*, pp. 72-3, with table 2.

³⁶⁷ Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", p. 89.

by the abbot of Marmoutier, pointing to his spiritual interests and eminent ecclesiastical company.

1056 to 1073

The following year, a charter of election for Saint-Aubin returned to the text of the charter concerning the 1037 succession at Montier-la-Celle, a text which was borrowed a further 17 years later, when it was used to describe the elevation of an abbot to the monastic house of le Ronceray in Angers.³⁶⁸ In addition to these formulaic texts recording these two monastic successions, there exists an alternative account of the 1056 succession in Saint-Aubin that may reveal more about the procedure that took place than revealed by the charter of election. It is important to consider first the situation regarding these successions that their charters record, before turning to the alternative text to see if this provides any clues concerning why the electoral charters take the form that they do.

The charters open with the rhetorical framework of Christian unity that 1037 introduced. The 1073 variant expands upon the two Biblical quotations to include also John 15:12, "This is my commandment: love each other..." which introduced the requirements for achieving apostolic life and perfect love for which all Christians, but particularly monks, were to strive. The emphasis on the values of united wills remains, giving focus to the virtue of the collective action of the monastic community in each case, and the necessity for leadership around which wills could unite (4).

The charters continue, stress the importance of leadership in the monastic community, stating that God has set superiors in charge of all orders of the Church for the express purpose of safeguarding peace by bringing the fragility of human weakness into a unity of spirit (5). Curiously, the 1073 variant pointed to plural prelates, bringing the focus from the necessity of a monastic leader that had prevailed in 1037 and 1056, to the need for Church superiors more generally.

³⁶⁸ For these texts, Appendix 2, 1037, 1056, 1073.

There is a noticeable increase of emphasis on sanctity and the role of Christ in the organisation of His Church, bringing a new sense of holiness to the requirement for leadership in the Church.

The description of the election or selection of the monastic superior largely follows the formula in all three variant of charter, with the exception of the charter of 1073 laying further emphasis on the importance of choosing a leader, pointing to their actions as being for the salvation of their souls, *ad salutem animarum nostrarum*, in language that strongly reflects the *pro remedio animae* clauses of donations (6). The charter places further emphasis on their piety, describing themselves as, “we sisters devoted to God,” in contrast the basic statements of group identity made in the charters of 1037 and 1056 (6).

This desire of the community of le Ronceray for a leader to bring them unity and salvation is continued in the following section, into which is inserted a pleading speech by the community emphasising their aspiration to be united and therefore within the virtue of unity. This begging initially appears to be directed at whoever may have been overseeing the succession, a means of emphasising the importance of the occasion and drawing attention to the spiritual importance of the occasion, however, it moves to focus on the soul of new leader, and her responsibility to bring unity to her flock (7). The reference to the yoke of Christ alludes to Matthew 11:30, “for my yoke is easy and my burden is light,” but also recalls chapter 58 of the *RSB*, concerning the submission of new members of the community to the *Rule*. The allusion to this chapter and the concerns expressed for the salvation of the new monastic superior thereby build to suggest her succession and creation as abbess as being a parallel to baptism. Section 7 has the additional interest, in the request of the nuns that their chosen candidate “be appointed mother and patroness.” The notion of the parental of Benedictine superiors has been noted, but it is interesting in this charter concerning 1073 that it is these things in particular that the community seek their abbess to be. The next major action of the charter is the granting of the election by Fulk, before Richildis was presented to Bishop Eusebius to receive a blessing, and there is therefore little clarification as to whether these attributes were granted individually, or together,

The description of the election has inevitably altered for the charter of 1073 in with the absence of Albert of Marmoutier. Thus, in place of his advice and authority there appears the consent, favour, or grant of Count Fulk, who gives the gift of the temporal aspects of the abbacy. The change from the charter of 1056 is interesting; in this former, whilst Albert lent his authority, the charter for 1073 clearly explains the count's participation due to the location of Saint-Aubin within his *dominium*, a fact which allowed the count to give – the term *donum* is used in both cases – temporal goods (9). Repeating the count's role in relation to the bishop's, emphasising it, the charter describes this investiture as the count handing over *exterius* rule with his authority, an authority that was plainly significant enough to hold this in times of vacancy. In comparison, although the temporal investiture is still mentioned twice in the charter as per the example of 1056, the charter of 1073 removes the emphasis placed on the count's authority with the use of *sua* before *auctoritate* (10).

The episcopal investiture and the care of souls that it carried is maintained in both charters, however, with the addition that the charter of 1073 explained with her initial presentation to the bishop that his blessing gave her the *mysterium*, undoubtedly one of the sacred mysteries that denoted the phenomena associated with baptism, the Eucharist, confession, or ordination. Here, the *mysterium* probably referred to a spiritual investiture, and the emphasis in comparison with the previous charters must be noted.

1056 alternative

The alternative source of information concerning the 1056 succession in Saint-Aubin is to be found in its entirety in a seventeenth- or eighteenth-century copy at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. lat. 12658, at fol. 64 r°. An incomplete version appears in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin, and a comparison of the two has

been compiled by Guillot.³⁶⁹ The fuller text of the later copy has been used here in order to obtain most information.³⁷⁰

The charter concerns Geoffrey Martel's waiver of his right to require that his castles be manned, and the narrative style of the charter and poorer quality of the Latin in contrast to the electoral charters are immediately obvious. The text commences with the entry of abbot-elect Theoderic into the abbey for his investiture with the pastoral staff in the chapter. The existence of such a ceremony is unknown from the electoral charters, however, the investiture of abbots and abbesses was not so unfamiliar to eleventh-century France. In Normandy, the duke's lordship over a monastery, even one founded by other families, could be indicated by his power to invest abbots in this foundation.³⁷¹ And indeed, in Bourgueil it was used in a similar manner to demonstrate the count's lordship over the foundation: this can be seen from the papal exemption which Emma of Poitou obtained from Silvester II, confirming that the abbot-elect of Bourgueil should be presented to the Duke of Aquitaine and the duke gift the monastery to him (*ipse ei donum praebeat*).³⁷² The use of *donum* to term this transmission is something that is employed also by the charters of 1037, 1056 and 1073 in regard to the comital role, and is it *donatio* in the 1056 alternative.³⁷³ It is therefore not impossible that the form of ritual or ceremony that appears to be enacted in the 1056 alternative happened on other occasions, even if they were not so described. Further support of this might be seen in the alleged function of the pastoral staff which was to be

³⁶⁹ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 469-70, "Pièce justificative," with fn.

³⁷⁰ Appendix 2, 1056 alternative.

³⁷¹ Wood, *The Proprietary Church*, p. 373 with fn 12, pp. 378-9 .

³⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 378-9, citing *Opera, Silvester Papa II in Patrologia Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, vol. 139, cols. 285B-85B, ep. 25 : *Electionem vero abbatis, monachis ipsius loci licet agere, non ex alienis, sed ex propriis, cujus vita et mores secundum Deum sint. Quo electo, duci Aquitanorum filiisque ejus eum repraesentent, et ipse ei donum praebeat sine ulla contradictione aut aliqua contrarietate.*

³⁷³ Appendix 2: 1037, 1056, 1073 (9); 1056 alternative, (1).

gifted, a tool with which the abbot was “to bring together in discipline the straying sheep of the monastic flock.” (1) Whilst not an unfamiliar topos, this concept might be seen to reflect those of unity and virtue extolled by the arengae of the formal charters of election.

The charter’s account of the event records that abbot-elect Theoderic enquired of the monks if the count imposed any unsavoury *consuetudines*, and, on discovering that these existed, refused the abbacy. It is evident that the charter’s purpose was to record the renunciation of the count’s requirements that Saint-Aubin provide men to guard a castle; this document might therefore be cited as a classic example of the *consuetudines*, previously in existence, but suddenly apparent in the eleventh century as a result of the *mutation documentaire*.³⁷⁴ In order to record the count’s waiver of these duties, the charter records Geoffrey Martel’s purpose for being present at the gathering in the chapterhouse of Saint-Aubin: “...Geoffrey, who had made him come for the purpose of setting him in charge of the care of souls...” (2) Once Geoffrey had relinquished this requirement, Theoderic accepted the abbacy, and the charter mentions the three orders of men present who might stand as witness to the events, supporting the claims of the early charters of election that described appointments made with the consent of laymen, monks, and clergy. The scribe of the charter did not feel it necessary to list all the witnesses to the act (7), however, listed first was Albert of Marmoutier and three of his monks, before even the Bishop of Angers (4-5).

This charter is a fascinating alternative to the description of abbatial succession made by the charter of election. Not only is a setting and body in attendance to events described, but it is evident that by 1056 the scribe who wrote this charter, and whoever who copied it into the cartulary, still regarded the count’s “gift” of the pastoral staff as conveying the abbacy’s spiritual responsibilities. The role of Albert in this event is reduced to attendance, although it is not impossible that his role had already been fulfilled, if this was indeed presidency over the monks’ selection process. It is evident that the role of the charter was to record and preserve the

³⁷⁴ See above, pp. 10-14.

monks' waiver, but even if this accounts for the lack of role assigned to Albert in this event, it provides no alternate explanation for the statement that Geoffrey Martel gave the abbot the *cura animarum* of the monastic community. The use of *praeficere* to transmit this charge is telling in itself.³⁷⁵

The perception of the count's authoritative role in proceedings suggested here might also be supported with reference to the eleventh charter in the Cartulary of Saint-Aubin's chapter concerning abbatial elections. This charter, number 20 from 1056, records an attempt by Viscount Aimeri of Thouars to profit from the occasion of the installation of a new abbot, by presenting the new abbot with a transfer tax, priced at a horse worth 100 sous, or the cash monetary equivalent. The viscount had been at war with Geoffrey Martel in 1053, and, although he held the dues and jurisdictions of the lands of Saint-Aubin's priory at Méron, the imposition of this new tax is likely to have been an attack on Martel.³⁷⁶

The Council of Tours, 1054

The notable event that is commonly cited as having expanded the use of Albert's dualist conception of abbatial investitures is the Council of Tours of 1054, and its inauguration of a new papal influence which encouraged local reform.³⁷⁷

Despite views that the Council marked an important step in the history of the reform, the historiography concerning the reasons for the sudden blooming of this theoretical limit to comital investiture and the precise role that the council played

³⁷⁵ See above, pp. 89-91.

³⁷⁶ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, vol. 1, pp. 270-3, no. 226 ; Bruno Lemesle, "La pratique du duel judiciaire au XI^e siècle, à partir de quelques notices de l'abbaye Saint-Aubin d'Angers," *Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public. 31^e congrès, Angers, 2000. Le règlement des conflits au Moyen Âge* vol. 31, no. 31 (2001), pp. 149-168.

³⁷⁷ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XI^e siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 185-8, esp. p. 186 with fn. 232 ; Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice"; Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire".

in it is split. Guillot, in his first study of the period, pointed to it as a papal initiative driven by Leo IX, who had reformed Toul as its bishop, and who might at this time have been trying to disseminate this same reform in other regions of France. He cited Huyghebaert's study of Leo's reforming actions in Lorraine and one particular document which seems to indicate that before 1062, the priests of parishes held by the monks of Saint-Vanne made a clear distinction between their investiture with the benefice and their investiture with the *cura animarum*.³⁷⁸ Finding an ally for this reform in Hildebrand, the legate who presided over the 1054 Council of Tours and future Gregory VII, Leo IX used the council to disseminate the theory to Albert of Marmoutier and possibly Lanfranc of Bec, who employed it in this region of France.³⁷⁹ Ragnow, too, has accepted the Council as the influence on reforms that were put into practice from the following year.³⁸⁰ Guillot also pointed out, however, that the papal attitude at this time was relatively undefined on the question of lay investiture, suggesting that his emphasis on the person of Leo IX as a driver of the reform was deliberate.³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Huyghebaert, "Saint Leon et la lutte contre la simonie dans le diocèse de Verdun", p. 431 : *...altaria ecclesiarum quas fratres inibi commorantes in nostro episcopio possident omnia ex nostro dono... priori beneficio adnectimus quatenus perpetualiter teneant taliterque ut haveant potestatem de suis personam quam cumque elegerint gratis et sine precio introducendi... et abbas ei prebende donum tribuat, archidiaconus autem curam animarum*. Quoted in Guillot, *Ibid*.

³⁷⁹ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 185, esp. fn. 230 ; Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", p. 81.

³⁸⁰ Marguerite Ragnow. "The Wordly Cares of Abbess Richildis: Power, Property, and Female Religious in Eleventh-Century Anjou," Ph.D Thesis, University of Minnesota, (2006), pp. 44-5. There is no evidence for her assertion that the reforms were discussed at the council.

³⁸¹ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 185-6 and fn. 230, which seems to suggest at analysis which mirrors Foulon's, that high-profile members of the papal entourage were happy to come to mutually-beneficial conciliatory arrangements with secular princes at this time; developed in Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", pp. 81-100.

The opposite prompt has also been proposed, with a Loire-based reform, of which Fulbert of Chartres was the originator of the concepts it displayed, being argued for by Avril. In his 1984 work, Avril saw the Council as a moment for the papacy to approve and promulgate on a larger scale the reforms which Marmoutier had locally attempted to introduce in 1037.³⁸² In his view, papal endorsement led to the application of the reform in Saumur in 1055, Saint-Aubin in 1056, and in 1073 for le Ronceray, the latter on the initiative of the bishop of Angers who was by this time the only survivor of the Council of Tours. The concept of the Council of Tours as the moment in which the reform was able to suddenly harness papal support and prestige and therefore see further implementation, was an idea that Foulon developed.³⁸³ He cited a certain flexibility of papal legates in working with local reforms and reflects a deep-seated pragmatism current in the papacy of this time, which was aware of its inability to enforce centrally conceived reforms in the mid- and second half of the eleventh-century.³⁸⁴ By working with reform theories present on a local scale, however, the papacy was able to extend its presence in Europe through the allies it made by this policy. It was also suggested by Genicot that were the reform to have been a papally instigated movement, one might have expected to witness its influence on a wider scale, in a wider geographical field, or the promulgation of the electoral process in more regional councils than seems to be the case.³⁸⁵

If these arguments have considered the role of the council, then the reason why the reform was suddenly implemented after its relative obscurity for two decades must also be considered. The Council of Tours took place in a context of political problems and questions of faith, the latter of which would certainly have attracted

³⁸² Avril, *Le gouvernement des évêques et la vie religieuse dans le diocèse d'Angers, 1148-1240*, vol. 1, p. 126 with fn. 30.

³⁸³ Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", pp. 31-3. His later publication, Foulon, *Église et réforme*, pp. 96-7, repeats this argument almost verbatim.

³⁸⁴ Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire", pp. 127-8.

³⁸⁵ Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes", p. 108.

papal attention to the Loire. In 1054, the imprisonment of Gervais, the Bishop of Le Mans by Geoffrey Martel, who saw him as an obstacle to his expansionist policy in le Maine, and the Eucharistic heresy of Bérengar of Tours, would have attracted papal attention to the Loire. When the former, a bishop of the royal see, had revealed himself to be a supporter of the Count Odo II of Blois, Geoffrey Martel found himself waging a campaign against him.³⁸⁶ If this first matter for papal grievance were an indication of the way that local territorial princes viewed the episcopacy as tools of their policies, the latter was a matter of great anxiety concerning the upholding and practice of the faith. He had been a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres and would have learned traditional theological modes, but the view that Bérengar expressed denying any material change in the elements given during the Eucharist was particularly worrying given his role as schoolmaster of the cathedral of Tours. Although he was a protégé of the count of Anjou who would have received some support through this patronage, more disturbing for the papacy might have been the support which Bérengar appears to have attracted, illustrated by the events of the Council of Reims in 1049 during which only Bishop Eusebius Bruno of Angers would consent to removing him.³⁸⁷

Although Roman intervention in France had been on the wane, the papacy of Leo IX seems to have witnessed an increasing revision of the traditional practice of the use of legates to maintain a papal presence in Europe, holding councils and taking Roman authority and decision-making procedures to the provinces.³⁸⁸ Thus,

³⁸⁶ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 167-71 and 175-80.

³⁸⁷ O. Pontal, *Les conciles de la France capétienne jusqu'en 1215* (Paris, 1995), pp. 154-9 ; Jean de Montclos, *Lanfranc et Bérenger, la Controverse eucharistique du XIe siècle* (Leuven, 1971). The Bérengar affair seems to have lasted for a further 30 years, with Hildebrand encouraging Bérengar to go to Rome and explain himself to the Lenten synod of 1059, where he swore a profession of faith. This was not the end, however, and Bérengar ended up appearing before Gregory VII or his legates on four further occasions before finally making appropriate amends in 1080.

³⁸⁸ K. Rennie, "'Uproot and destroy, build and plant': legatine authority under Pope Gregory XII," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 33 (2007), pp. 166-80, here pp. 170-1 ;

Foulon has suggested that it is not impossible that Hildebrand, and through him the papacy, wanted to open Roman circles up to an elite local reform, benefitting from the two-way communication of ideas that such councils allowed.³⁸⁹

The records of the Council of Tours show that a number of topics were discussed, although monastic reform was not among them.³⁹⁰ Under the presidency of Hildebrand and in the presence of Lanfranc of Bec and other regional prelates, it seems unlikely that the matter would not have received comment, but no record of this remains in the canons produced. However, if the imprisonment of Gervais of le Mans had been one of the events which had drawn papal attention to the Anjou, the outcome, his translation to the archbishopric of Reims at the request of Henry I and by the pope's authority was a polite means of removing him from Anjou, and allowed a respectable outcome to the problem for all concerned, including Geoffrey Martel. Indeed, the removal of Gervais allowed Geoffrey Martel to install one of his protégés, Vulgrinus, in the bishopric of le Mans, strengthening his position in this area. Further signs of a papal smoothing of political relations might be seen in Hildebrand's apparent of sympathy for the Bérengar case. If he had wanted to refer the case to the Holy See, the death of Leo IX precluded this and led to a relatively lean punishment, entailing a recitation of the Creed and the demand for him to present himself before the papacy, being required. These events, deliberately or not, would have amended the strained relations which had been apparent between the count and papacy were obvious at the time of the Council of Reims in 1049. At this time the count was warned about his actions concerning Gervais, and his failure to attend the Council of Mainz in order to explain himself led to comital excommunication in 1050. All Angevin states were placed under pontifical excommunication at the same time.³⁹¹

Kathleen G. Cushing, *Papacy and law in the Gregorian revolution : the canonistic work of Anselm of Lucca* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 18-19.

³⁸⁹ Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", p. 35.

³⁹⁰ *Canones Concilium Turonense*, ed. Mansi cols. 839-40 ; Pontal, *Les conciles*, p. 196.

³⁹¹ Pontal, *Les conciles*, pp. 154-9, 196.

Both Guillot and Ziezulewicz cited the councils of Tours and Lisieux as the prompts that encouraged the count of Anjou and duke of Normandy to enact this reform of investitures in return for this papal favour.³⁹² The charters of election for Anjou have been laid out, but for Normandy the third book of Orderic Vitalis' narrative history seems to describe the abbatial successions of the second half of the eleventh-century to the prestigious abbey of Saint-Evroult in very similar terms. These Norman texts certainly do make a distinction between the *exterius* and the *interiorum* or *cura animarum* of the abbatial role. However, distinctions between the spiritual and temporal were not new. Additionally, as the alternative charter of 1056 demonstrates, the process by which an abbot-elect became abbot did not have to physically alter in order to be described in dualist terms, all that was required was a lord's acceptance and blessing or religious confirmation, in much the same way as gifts to saints, especially those using symbols of transfer, were made.³⁹³ Composed around 1114-1124, Orderic's information concerning this period seems to have been informed significantly by documents in the monastery's archives.³⁹⁴ However, without further evidence of a change in practice, it is impossible to accept that these Norman texts were not produced to reflect post-reform desires, giving new meaning to the traditional procedures. By comparison, the charters of election which suggest a similar dual investiture can be suggested to have been constructed specially, and they still maintain a focus on the comital action. His role is mentioned twice in the formulaic charters, and the evidence of the 1056 alternative suggests that the episcopal investiture was a reinterpretation

³⁹² Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here pp. 91-2 and 95-100 ; Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres", here pp. 389-90.

³⁹³ see Guillot, "A Reform of Investiture", here pp. 91-2 and 95-100 ; Ziezulewicz, "The School of Chartres", pp. 389-90 ; M. Ragnow, "Ritual Before the Altar: Legal Satisfaction and Spiritual Reconciliation in Eleventh-Century Anjou" in *Medieval and Early Modern Ritual: Formalized Behavior in Europe, China, and Japan*, edited by J. Rollo-Koster (Leiden, 2002), pp. 57-79, here pp. 59-61, 63-6, 68, 76-7 ; White, *Custom, Kinship*, eg. pp. 34-5.

³⁹⁴ J. Yver, "Autour de l'absence d'avouerie en Normandie. Appendice I: Note sur les élections abbatiales à Saint-Evroult," *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* vol. 57 (1963-1964), pp. 189-283, here p. 274.

of a traditional blessing. In many ways, then, this reform resided in the minds of those who wanted to perceive it.

Summary

This latter point raises the essential question of why these charters of election were written. These charters are the product of a change in writing style: they are more narrative, more details are given, and so, in comparison to the early charters which recorded a *fait accompli* by the count, these charters provide us with details of the steps by which a new monastic leader was created. New monastic confidence that produced a flurry of complaints about *malae consuetudines* might also help explain the emphasis on the community, and the relative significance belonging to the roles of count and bishop.³⁹⁵

However, if the alternative account of the 1056 election specifically enquired after *malae consuetudines* of the count, it is notable that comital investiture was not listed as one of these. The charters of election, moreover, still maintained a certain role and authority for the count, allowing him to exercise his prerogative. In the events which surrounded the elevation of a monastic superior, his role must have appeared through actions to have been much as it ever had been.

In the few years immediately prior to the 1055 and 1056 elevations, the success of Geoffrey Martel's expansions began to change the balance of power in the Loire Valley, something that seemed to raise some anxiety in royal circles, and for some ten years Henry I opposed Angevin expansion.³⁹⁶ However, the growth of Norman

³⁹⁵ Note the questions concerning the *violenta conseutudines* that could have imperilled souls about which questions were asked in the 1056 alternative. The described event of an abbot-elect specifically asking about these demonstrates a strong community awareness of rights and their right to complain about unjust impositions. Apparently these latter did not involve comital investitures of abbots-elect. See Appendix 3, Bib. nat. ms. lat 12658/1056 alternative.

³⁹⁶ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 69-79.

power under Duke William proved to be a larger problem to royal power, and around 1052, a renewal of the traditional Angevin-Capetian alliance took place.³⁹⁷ Initial successes for the allies in Normandy were soon followed by losses of land as Geoffrey and Henry were driven back, losing Alençon, and retreating into Maine. After regrouping over the winter of 1054-4, a further attempt by count and king to invade Normandy saw the defeats of the king's brother Odo in Upper Normandy and the king's retreat from Normandy, forcing Geoffrey Martel to abandon his efforts and bringing the Norman wars to Maine.³⁹⁸

In light of these difficulties, the symbolic expression of power that these charters of election conveyed about the count was invaluable. As images of self-representation of his lordship, participation in abbatial elevations that were not just simple transfers of authority, but allowed the count to participate in spiritual events, and in spiritual events in which he held a strong position. Creating, re-creating, and confirming a relationship with the monastery, the count had means to bolster his power by using such moment to shape his reputation, by demonstrating his honour, and by demonstrating the sacral personality that had to hold in order to participate in such rites. When the tone of the documents that recorded and enacted these events changed to emphasise the religiosity of the proceedings, the count's role earned him strong symbolic capital, and demonstrated the superiority of his lordship.

³⁹⁷ Halphen, *Le comté d'Anjou au XIe siècle*, pp. 13-132 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 79-101.

³⁹⁸ Guillot, *ibid.*, pp. 79-101.

1028-1082

The final set of electoral charters strongly support the view that the electoral charters of Anjou were written to say something about the relationships involved in the elevation of a new abbot, to project an image of power and, for the counts, to present images of their authority that could form strategic statements. These charters demonstrate that the authoritative role that counts were shown to have played projected an image of power that did not lose its vitality and core constituents during the eleventh century. If their role allowed counts to gain symbolic capital, then this merely added to the value of these charters.

Part of the nature of that continuity can be seen through the use of a certain formulaic *dispositio* that appeared in Angevin electoral charter of 1028 and 1036, before returning to be used for charters regarding elevations of 1060 and 1082; additionally, of an *arenga* first used in 968 was employed for these later eleventh century documents, creating composite texts that reveal a continuity in the ideas relevant to abbatial elevations from 968 to 1082. By examining the early versions first, before turning to see how they were employed later in the eleventh century, we can be more specific about the theories that were held to be current, and where changes took place.

The initial formula first appeared as the charter of election of Leoburga, the first abbess of the new female foundation of le Ronceray.³⁹⁹ This abbey of female religious was founded and the first abbess installed in 1028 by Count Fulk Nerra and his second wife, Hildegard. Internal memory of the institution credited Hildegard with the foundation of the new house in Angers and with being their principle patron.⁴⁰⁰ For the new house, a new text for the charters of election

³⁹⁹ Appendix 3, 1028.

⁴⁰⁰ Indeed, she was named as the sole founder of the place in one document: *Cartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae Caritatis Andegavensis*, ed. Marchegay, here p. 115 no. 173. The

appeared, and in comparison with the charters of election pertaining to Saint-Aubin from the decades before the founding of le Ronceray, this text seems to have placed increased emphasis on the importance of the community and the *RSB*'s conceptions of them as a corporate body. However, its relevance to this latter monastic house can be demonstrated by its adoption shortly after for the 1036 abbatial succession to the abbacy of Saint-Aubin d'Angers.

Although le Ronceray lies on the southern side of the Maine, on the opposite side of the tributary to the château, cathedral, and Saint-Aubin, it is no more than a kilometre distant from Saint-Aubin.⁴⁰¹ Alongside their geographical proximity, the strong comital ties to both and Saint-Aubin's pre-eminent position within Angevin monastic life make it likely that the traditions of this latter monastery would have been available to the new foundation. Indeed, it seems probable that the creation of the first charter of election for the newly established foundation of le Ronceray might be credited to Saint-Aubin's scribal workshop.⁴⁰² Thus, the appearance of a new formula to describe the accessions of monastic leaders has significant implications for the history of elections in both foundations and comital involvement in these matters more generally.

After its use in 1036, however, it seems that the formula of these charters was deserted in favour of other procedural descriptions until 1060, when a charter of election pertaining to Saint-Aubin turned to this text to borrow the *dispositio*. This was combined with the *arenga* of the 968 charter variant to create a composite text compiled from these two older texts. This composite formula was used to form the Saint-Aubin charters of election concerning 1060 and 1082.

Relatively little work has been done on the known electoral charters pertaining to le Ronceray, but especially little has been written concerning that of 1028.

countess can also be seen making numerous donations by herself or instigating donations, Ragnow, "Abbess Richildis," vol. 1, pp. 163-4.

⁴⁰¹ See above, map 2.

⁴⁰² Appendix 3, 1028, (10), which names the monk, Lawrence, who wrote the charter.

Ragnow's 2006 thesis, where it did consider the charter of 1028, pointed to the leading role played by Fulk Nerra in the elevation of Leoburga.⁴⁰³ Guillot, on the other hand, pointed Saint-Aubin's act of 1036 as the start of the second stage of electoral reform in Anjou, in which traditional comital prerogatives over abbatial elections began to be subjected to a movement through which the Church would rid itself of lay influence.⁴⁰⁴ Although he noted the count's involvement in the process of abbatial succession, he described the occasion as belatedly conforming to the reform of 966, thereby implying that the count's voluntary drawing back from the principle role in the accession of new monastic heads. Genicot characteristically supported Guillot's analysis, describing the change in the 1036 charter in comparison to its immediate predecessor for the same foundation as heralding the middle phase of an evolution of electoral theory in the Pays de la Loire.⁴⁰⁵ This phase, he concluded, allowed the maintenance of comital influence, but also enabled a reform through which the monks came to choose their leaders.

However, it will be suggested in this chapter that the charter of elections for 1028 and 1036 do not show the withdrawal of the count from the procedure. Instead, heavier emphasis on the spiritual context and more rhetorical contextualisation is included, reflecting the increasingly verbose nature of charters recording transfers and the increasing self-awareness of monastic houses. Indeed, the fact that the charters of 1060 and 1082 that returned to the earliest *arenga* to find a model for their text, demonstrates that the statements being made in these early charters were still seen to be relevant, to record and display what contemporaries wanted to be seen, and what they wanted to state about each occasion.

1028

The opening of the charter relates the tenets of Scripture concerning the creation of the world and the place of man within it. With the reference to Genesis 1:28, the

⁴⁰³ Ragnow, "Abbess Richildis," p. 42.

⁴⁰⁴ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 154-5.

⁴⁰⁵ Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes", p. 107.

section places man in a hierarchy with God, the Creator on whom they were modelled, but also relates the benefits and assistance that God formed in order to help and support man (1). This schema is used to demonstrate the obedience which held such a hierarchy together, that the provision that God had made for man in order to support him in his ignorance required that each element created fulfilled its allotted role.

Such an opening echoes very much the themes of order expressed in the opening statement of the earliest formula, and the use of Genesis was not uncommon in texts.⁴⁰⁶ In keeping with the Old Testament examples, the charter also cites the examples of Moses, Aaron and Joshua as evidence of the natural order God placed before man in order to help him through the travails of the world (3). These examples added a sense of very traditional custom to the occasion, harking by to a mythical golden age before the fall of man, and harnessing the legitimacy of this imagined tradition to add gravitas to the occasion.

Moving on from a period in which man's innocent seems to be complete, the charter describes the role of religious leaders – the priests, abbots, and abbesses – of the New Testament whose role was to protect man from sin (4). Moving on from one age to another, the tradition and layers of assistance for the salvation of mankind are revealed. The pastoral diligence of these ecclesiastics and the language of ravaging wolves and innocent sheep are familiar Christian symbols, but here it also appears to echo the themes of the duty of pastoral care demonstrated by the *RSB* and required of monastic heads that were present in the act of 988.⁴⁰⁷

Having created this picture of Creation embedded with means of protection created by God to shield mankind from sin, the voice of the community places its actions within a framework of their endeavours for salvation. Thus, their request for a monastic leader becomes a plea for a leader to protect them from the dangers

⁴⁰⁶ See Appendix 1, 968, (1).

⁴⁰⁷ Appendix 1, 988, (6).

of sin, virtuous by its association with these means of protection (4-5). In addition to conforming to the schema of Creation that has been created, the community's plea is rendered yet more legitimate by their expression of their unanimous desire and harmony, signs that the Holy Spirit was working through this virtuous community.⁴⁰⁸ The voice of the monastic community drives the charter and explains their desire for a governor, but the emphasis on the notions of unanimity and their description as a congregation also display an awareness of how to place the community's actions within the same rhetorical bounds of virtue (5). For a newly established monastic house, as well as fulfilling a familiar genre, the sense of community being projected demonstrated piety and righteousness, qualifying their existence within their contemporary society by reference to the their role and virtues required to complete these responsibilities successfully.

The same might be said of the description of their selection of Leoburga with unanimous desire and in unanimous harmony. This, and especially the concord mentioned, echoes the ideal electoral situation of the *RSB* in which the electors all unanimously chose their new abbot following divine inspiration; this motivated all to present the one answer which was desired by God through mutual agreement (6).⁴⁰⁹ Using *votum* to describe the community's wish further translated the description of their selection into a pious act, carrying as it did the connotations of a prayer or wish (5).

This pious desire was made a reality by the agreement of Count Fulk, but a clear family relationship was also made with association of his wife Hildegard and son Geoffrey (5). Reference to Hildegard is almost certainly connected to the community's assertion of her influential involvement in their founding, but, as with the charter of 997, the introduction of the count's son gave the proceedings a very patrimonial sense.⁴¹⁰ The exact meaning of the *assensus* that these parties gave is not given any precision, but it is clear that it was through, a result of, this

⁴⁰⁸ See above, pp. 74-5 and 124-5.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. Appendix 1, 977, (4). See above, pp. 85-6.

agreement that the chosen candidate was elevated. The procedure being described strongly reflects the stipulations of the 966 reform which the count had granted Saint-Aubin, which specified a privilege of abbatial selection for the monks, subject to the consent of the count.⁴¹¹ Like the 968 model of electoral charter, however, the charter for 1028 reports the agreement of clergy, laity, and nobles of either sex to the selection of Leoburga (6). The listing of nobles of either sex alongside laity is rendered a little odd unless this latter was intended to mean noble women, likely to found relationships with the female house.⁴¹² In any case, the inclusion of these groups of people adding their consent conformed to the traditional idea of elections *a clero et populo*. This concept demanded that local clerics and laypeople should participate in episcopal elections and had been translated into the canons of early ecclesiastical councils. A familiarity with the concept might be shown to have existed in central France in the eleventh century, witnessed by the reiteration of a canon concerning the necessity for episcopal election by clergy and people during the 1049 Council of Reims.⁴¹³ This ruling may have been an attempt to return practice to canonically recognised procedure after a Carolingian period which had seen it transformed into a system of popular acclamation to comital delegations, however, the essential point is its recognition in contemporary society as a valuable and legitimate tool in the elevation of ecclesiastical superiors.⁴¹⁴ The

⁴¹¹ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Saint-Aubin d'Angers*, ed. Broussillon, here pp. 4-7, no. 2: *Praefecimus quoque fratribus eiusdem loci boni testimonii bonaeque conversationis abbatem, nomine Widbaldum, qui dominico gregi velut bonus pastor diebus suis insistat, et post obitum quandoque ipsius, cum nostro generisque nostri futuri assensu, successor ei, qui a fratribus eiusdem loci electionis privilegio aptus inventus fuerit, substituatur.*

⁴¹² See eg. Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500-1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline," *Signs* vol. 14, no. 2 (1989), pp. 261-92 ; Penny S. Gold, "The Charters of le Ronceray d'Angers. Male/Female Interaction in Monastic Business" in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, edited by Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens, GA, 1990), pp. 122-132.

⁴¹³ *Canones Concilium Turonense*, ed. Mansi col. 741: *Ne quis sine electione cleri et populi ad regimen ecclesiasticum proveheretur.*

⁴¹⁴ Esmein, "L'unanimité et la majorité", pp. 370-1.

charter does not illuminate the procedure of involvement for these people, but their consent would have acted as a sign of involvement from those able to help implement and protect the terms of the act.⁴¹⁵ And consent to the candidate selected was understandable, with Leoburga holding the virtues required of pious monastic leaders (6). These virtues were based on those required by chapter 64 of the *RSB* and demonstrated the legitimate nature of the desire to elevate Leoburga to be abbess.⁴¹⁶

After these virtues were confirmed, the community begged all assembled that their candidate should be appointed and consecrated as patron and abbess (7). Once again, the charter uses allusion to the *RSB* to justify the requests for these actions, citing her pastoral role and the paternal encouragement. The latter is curious for the leader of a female house, however, the characterisation of the abbot as a father being a familiar characterisation in the *RSB* and the wider Benedictine literary tradition.⁴¹⁷ The reference to chapter 2 of the *RSB*, that an abbot should teach his disciples through words and especially deeds, is obvious, and further emphasised the virtue of proceedings.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁵ Génicot, "Rois, ducs, comtes", here pp. 105-7.

⁴¹⁶ Benedict, *Regula Benedicti*, ed. Venarde, here pp. 208-9, cap. 64, verse 9: ...*castum, sobrium, misericordem*, ... chaste, sober, merciful...

⁴¹⁷ See also *Ibid.*, cap. 2, verse 25: ...*miscens temporibus tempora, terroribus blandimenta, durum magistri, pium patris ostendat affectum; id est, interdisciplinatos et inquietos debet durius arguere, obedientes autem et mites et patientes ut in melius proficiant obsecrare; negligentes et contemnentes ut increpet et corripiat admonemus*. ... that is, he must reprimand the undisciplined and restless rather harshly and entreat the obedient, gentle, and patient to do better; we urge him to rebuke and correct the indifferent and scornful. ; Cf. above, pp. 93-5 on *dux et pater* tradition in Benedictine texts.

⁴¹⁸ *RSB Ibid*, pp. 22-3, cap. 2, verse 23: *Ergo um aliquis suscipit nomen abbatis, duplici debet doctrina suis praeesse discipulis, id est omnia bona et sancta factis amplius quam verbis ostendat, ut capacibus discipulis mandata Domini verbis proponat, duris corde vero et simplicioribus, factis suis divina praecepta monstrare...* that is, he should show all good and holy things in deeds more than words, setting out God's commandments verbally for

The necessity for Leoburga's successful leadership was emphasised with mention to Matthew 25:34 to reference the Final Judgement. In this way, in a parallel to the way in which the count had previously appointed abbots to Saint-Aubin for the salvation of his soul, here the community was requesting a legitimate leader in order that their souls might be favourably received into heaven. The notable difference, however, is that this charter is not written as a charter of donation or gift, and it is the voice of the community, rather than a single donor, that narrates the situation. Nonetheless, both arrangements describe an action – gift or installation – that required a counter-gift, salvation in both cases, even if the charter of 1028 expected some time to pass before this was fully earned.⁴¹⁹

The charter ends with a declaration of its provision for witnesses to the event, and was singed by Fulk Nerra, his son Geoffrey, his wife Hildegard, and then by 26 named women, and Hugo, the monk – most likely of Saint-Aubin – who wrote the charter (9-10).

Later Variants

The charter of 1036 for the abbey of Saint-Aubin d'Angers is noticeably longer than that of 1028, and increases the rhetorical explanations of the necessity for religious leaders and their role. The arenga maintains its initial focus on the order of Creation, but expands this to allow mention of the structural organisation of humans ruling other humans to be inserted into God's design (2). The necessity that required this is paralleled to the need for bishops and holy abbots in order to provide pastoral care to the Christian community (4).

The narratio, however, shows a change from the very rhetorical language that trademarks the model of 1028: here, instead of the emphasis on community behaviour, agreement and unanimity, the charter explains first the community's

receptive disciples, but teaching the hard-hearted and less intelligent the divine precepts by his example.

⁴¹⁹ Appendix 3, 1028, (8) and cf. Appendix 1, 968, (6).

need for pastoral leadership after a vacancy. Only once this justification has been provided is the language of unanimity and agreement in the community voiced (5).

The most notable change in the 1036 variant, however, is the inclusion of bishop Hubert giving his assent to the monks' request that Walter be installed as abbot, and before the count gives his (5). The order here is interesting, especially as the phrase used to describe his contribution to proceedings is exactly that of the count in the charter for 1028, *per assensum*. The alteration gave the scribe an opportunity to describe the count's participation anew, and his contribution, granted in *favor*, may help to explain the apparent difference in his role in these charters in comparison with the earlier ones. Guillot read this action as having no purpose other than to allow the monks, by virtue of their privilege, to proceed freely to election.⁴²⁰ Niermeyer's sole example of the usage of *favor* is from an eleventh-century document in the Cartulary of la Trinité de Vendôme, where he interprets it as, "the consent of a feudal lord to the alienation of a fief by the tenant."⁴²¹ Indeed, if the early charters of election purport to show the count making straight delegations, then his appearance here, enabling the election and elevation of Primaldus by his favour, his goodwill, suggests a role of oversight. Thus, the bishop may have been involved with the business of the affair, selecting and assessing candidates, but the count was chairman, ultimately in charge of proceedings which could not take place without his goodwill.

This schema of power relations is confirmed by the plea of the monastic community in each of these charters that their candidate be appointed and created as patron and abbot (7). Leaving to one side for now the dual phase process potentially described in this moment, such a supplication could only be made to someone on whom the monks were dependent. By describing their very act of enquiry in this manner, although in a relatively simple form, the scribe encapsulated the relationship between a lord and dependent at the heart of a

⁴²⁰ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 154-5.

⁴²¹ Niermeyer, *lexicon*, p. 412, "*favor*," citing *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, here p. 324, no. 187.

political relationship. The petition can only have been addressed to the count. In the case of the 1028 charter, it is only the comital family who appear as individuals; in all other cases where a bishop appears, the comital role is still preponderant.⁴²²

By addressing their desire to install a new monastic leader as a petition, the monastic community put themselves in a position of dependence, and thus behind each of these charters made a statement about the political standing of the man being beseeched. The meaning of this moment is something that has been neglected in previous analyses of these charters.

The division of the request into two elements is, however, something which Guillot commented upon, considering this and the predominating appearance of the monastic community as indications that a sign that the global prerogatives which the count had had over the abbey in the previous period had started to collide with a general movement which desired to remove the Church from the machinations of laymen.⁴²³ The appearance here of these two allied requests, that the chosen candidate be appointed and consecrated as patron and monastic leader, have been generally held to signify two separate actions rather than being a tool to add emphasis. Indeed, surely only the bishop could have given the consecration requested? The new appearance of such a two-stage process led Guillot and Genicot to suggest that a change in abbatial elevations had taken place, and that count and bishop now both had roles where before comital delegation alone had been sufficient. Indeed, Fanning argued that the absence of Bishop Hubert in the charter of 1028, despite his heavy involvement in le Ronceray, did not have to indicate the absence of his blessing, and confidently concluded that he must have ordained Leoburga even if the charter makes no mention of this.⁴²⁴ As for the

⁴²² Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France*, pp. 35-6, 44-7.

⁴²³ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 55.

⁴²⁴ Fanning, "Hubert of Angers", p. 75.

request that the chosen candidate be constituted abbot, *constitui* (7), Guillot read this as a reference to a global investiture by which the chosen candidate might be given charge of the care of the souls and bodies of the community, the two central aspects of the abbatial function.⁴²⁵ The use of *constituere* (to set up/ in position, to place, dispose, locate) certainly supports this analysis. It was a term familiar to Merovingian tradition where it was used to express the right of the founder to appoint an abbatial leader, the only action needed to create a new abbot, and thus acted as comprehensive investiture with the abbatial office.⁴²⁶ In a more contemporary period, the term can be seen to have maintained a similar meaning being a term favoured of similar appointments made in the tenth century, notably after the reform of the abbey of Saint-Remi of Reims in 945 when it was used to describe the Archbishop of Reims' nomination of Hincmar to the abbacy.⁴²⁷ As the action of a count, it was used to describe Count Arnoul's nomination of Gérard as abbot of Brogne in 937.⁴²⁸ Indeed, in this respect, the act here might be shown to have had a certain similarity to the delegation of the count that earlier charters of election had shown, in that the count's delegation was a comprehensive investiture which gave the abbot-elect the abbatial office in full.

However, if "constituting" entailed a global investiture and the absence of a bishop in a charter does not have to mean that a new superior had not received an episcopal blessing, then there is much to suggest that the process being described

⁴²⁵ Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, p. 155.

⁴²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 156, fn. 111, citing MGH, *DD Mer.* 1, p. 371, no. 147: *Chardericus [rex].... Magnoaldo abbati constituit esse rictorem.*

⁴²⁷ Flodoard, *Historia Remensis Ecclesiae* in *MGH Script.*, eds. J. Heller and G. Waitz, vol. 13 (Hannover), here p. 583 lib. IV.32: *...pontifex...constituens ibi abbatem Hincmarum, eiusdem loci monachum.*

⁴²⁸ *Annales Gandenses*, in *MGH Script.*, vol. 2, here p. 187 : 937: *Arnulfus magnus comes Flandrie, gloriosus marchysus, hortatu venerabiis viri Transmari Noviomagensis epsicopi cenobium Gandense tunc dirutum, quod deserto pene videbatur similiior, restauravit et in melius reformavit, et virum illustrem sanctum Gerardum Bononiensem, abbatem dicti Gandensis cenobii constituit et rectorem.*

in these charters may well have been the same process which happened on the occasion of the abbatial successions of 968, 977, 996, 1001, and 1027. In these, a comital delegation created the abbot, and no blessing is recorded; mention of the bishop's presence is occasional, but the charters mention the consent of other groups, even if only from lay nobles.⁴²⁹ It seems increasingly, therefore, as though these early charters must not be characterised as straight and severe comital delegations, but simply that the function of the charters in society had been different, or the image that they sought to display was different. These early charters might be characterised as comital donations, whilst these from 1028 onwards appear more as descriptions of a moment. For the early charters, the count's interaction with the monastery created a relationship, but also expressed his place within society and his mastery over the occasion; by comparison, the emphasis on the community and the legitimacy and virtue of their actions that these charters from 1028 describe allowed the count to participate in a religious occasion with all the rhetorical gloss that made it legitimate according to old Church traditions. In this way, his association with the spiritual meaning of the occasion increased, allowing the charters to demonstrate a different element of his lordship, one that was more intangible but gave a spiritual charisma to his rulership.

Alexander Murray pointed to societal formation shaped through military might as having led to a "sickness of the soul" in a medieval Christian society. Thus, men who lived in such a way that opposed the tenets of the Christian region were led to seek means of spiritual recompense.⁴³⁰ Rosenwein found evidence of the desire to balance out militaristic lives in the Cluniac reforming emphasis on order, to counteract the lack of it in a system where social advancement was achieved through military means.⁴³¹ Indeed, a case study of Count Otto-William of Burgundy pointed to his generosity to the religious institutions under his patronage, but also

⁴²⁹ Appendix 1, 968 (6), 977 (4), 996-1027 (4).

⁴³⁰ Alexander Murray, *Reason and society in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 362-8.

⁴³¹ B. Rosenwein, "Feudal War and Monastic Peace: Cluniac Liturgy as Ritual Aggression," *Viator* vol. 2 (1971), pp. 129-57.

the sense of general piety expressed in his charters of donations as if made by way of explanation for them.⁴³² There is a core of argumentation, then, that cites pious wish in the actions of laymen vis-à-vis Church institutions in the eleventh century, and the change in the charters of election between 1027 and 1028 might be cited as an indication of this sudden wish to express piety by the count of Anjou. However, despite Fulk Nerra's fame for his journeys to Jerusalem, the charters of election gathered in appendix 4 show a maintenance of the strategic strength of the count's role. Whilst the monastic community in each case may have been able to select their candidate for elevation, comital favour was required, and the count maintained his responsibility to give global investiture to each new monastic superior. Instead, the change in these documents stems from the alterations that were taking place in charter production more generally. The increasing verbosity allows us glimpses of events that were previously entirely hidden. The focus on the monastic community may have been a product of the increasing confidence of the scribe or the monastic community to express its role and its function in society, but it also allowed the count to associate his lordship with these most religious moments. If successful comital lordship required military prowess and the ability to command wealth and support, then it also required personal honour and charisma, something which these charters might be said to show.⁴³³ The strong relationship between count and the abbeys of le Ronceray and Saint-Aubin were also elements of lordship, and allowed the count to participate in his own personal salvation, by fulfilling his role in society to guard and protect these places from evil. By installing a virtuous monastic leader, he was doing so.

1060 and 1082

The charters relating to elevations of 1060 and 1082 resorted to the traditional arenga on the 968 model for their opening. However, once the importance of

⁴³² C. B. Bouchard, "Laymen and Church Reform around the year 1000: the case of Otto-William, Count of Burgundy," *Journal of Medieval History* vol. 5 (1979), pp. 1-10, here p. 9.

⁴³³ Barton, *Lordship in the County of Maine, c. 890-1160*, pp. 12-16, 112-6.

obeying the commands of God and fulfilling the natural order that He had created were articulated (1-2), the charters adopted a general focus on the Benedictine rule which was also used in 988 and in the charters of 1028 and 1036 (3-4). The references to the yoke of Christ allude to Matthew 11:30, but also chapter 58 of the *RSB* (4). Notably, a high degree of community self-awareness seems to be displayed through reference to soldiers of monastic habit. Whilst this may have been a rhetorical device used to describe the body requiring a leader to unite their various disparate wills, it is curious that mode of dress, something that would have marked the monks out from the rest of society, showing a division and reflecting their theoretical withdrawal from contemporary society, was used to signal them as a group separate from others.

After the use of this adapted form of the traditional *arenga*, the text of the charters returned to follow the *narratio* and *dispositio* used by the charters of 1028 and 1060. Both charters describe the elevations of men who had previously been priors of Saint-Aubin, something not unfamiliar to monastic practice and which may have been supported by certain monastic rules. Like the model of 1036, both also include reference to the length of the vacancy that their elevations brought an end to, used as a device to emphasise the community's yearning for a leader (5). The period of a number of months in each case would reflect the time required to gather together the relevant parties, and for any factions within the monastic body to come to a compromise regarding their choice of candidate.⁴³⁴

These charters concerning 1060 and 1082, however, differ from the earlier two to have employed this *dispositio* in that they provide one further clue concerning the rituals that were enacted around the elevation of a monastic superior. A deed was not simply drawn up and signed by or before witnesses, before being handed over to the recipient of the benefit: public rituals were part of the process. At 9, where the witnesses to the act confirmed it by listing their names, these two charters also

⁴³⁴ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 31, 33 suggests the lengthy and measured process required to complete all the negotiations required to make a gift.

claim that these named people confirmed it by touching the charter.⁴³⁵ Angevin charters often record that making a gift or transferring property to a monastery required a two-stage process of ritual. The gift would be given to the recipient in the chapterhouse, before participants and witnesses went to the altar of the church to confirm the transaction by the placing of a symbolic object on the altar.⁴³⁶ The placing of the agreement "into the hands" could sometimes be followed with a counter-gift, physical or spiritual, from the recipient; similarly, the placing of the deed of enactment or of a symbolic object on to the altar could be done by the donor, or by persons consenting to the donation to demonstrate their support for the action.⁴³⁷ The new information that the charters of 1060 and 1082 supply suggest very much that this latter case took place in order for the witnesses of the charter to participate in support of it.

If the abbatial elevation is characterised as following rituals similar to those used to transfer land and rights, or used for the investiture of vassals with fiefs in return for service, then we can imagine more clearly the forum in which the named groups adding their consent played a part. Gifts to monasteries would be initially made, proffered to their intended recipients, in the chapterhouse, the donor and his support network standing on one side, the recipient in the form of monastic community and patron saint on the other.⁴³⁸ The publicly witnessed transmission between these two groups would have allowed the count to display a certain image, and participation in this most spiritual event, providing a leader for the monastic community who interceded with the saints, undoubtedly brought him or displayed a certain spiritual charisma that he held in his lordship. The conception of Angevin comital rulership having been granted by God continued well into the

⁴³⁵ Appendix 3, 1060/81, (9): *cartam hanc contrectavimus...*

⁴³⁶ Ragnow, "Ritual Before the Altar: Legal Satisfaction and Spiritual Reconciliation in Eleventh-Century Anjou"; Andrew Cowell, "Swords, Clubs, and Relics: Performance, Identity, and the Sacred," *Yale French Studies* vol. 110 (2006), pp. 7-18, here pp. 9-10.

⁴³⁷ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 34-5 ; Ragnow, "Abbess Richildis," pp. 60-1 cites two examples of this taking place for gifts and concessions of land.

⁴³⁸ White, *Custom, Kinship*, pp. 34-5.

second half of the eleventh-century, as evidenced by such claims in five charters of Geoffroy le Barbu, for example ...*Goffridus divina propitiatione comes...*⁴³⁹ Fulk le Réchin himself used the same theories, demonstrating the ratification of his power by God without requiring a clear distinction between the spiritual and temporal domains ... *Ego Fulco gratia Dei comes...*⁴⁴⁰ Interestingly, Fulk also used his ancestral history to add to the legitimacy that this association brought him, describing *Goffridi Martelli patru mei qui me nutrit per quem post Deum hunc honorem teneo...*⁴⁴¹ Indeed, Fulk used these motifs in the chronicle which he wrote in 1096, emphasising the heredity which legitimised his succession and the divine favour that had allowed him military superiority over his brother to replace him as count.⁴⁴²

Demonstration of this form of lordship set the count of Anjou apart from his contemporary nobles. Geoffrey Martel died childless in the monastery of Saint-Nicholas d'Angers in 1060, leaving the county to his nephew, Geoffrey III, "le Barbu." The misfortunes of his reign have caused historians to condemn le Barbu

⁴³⁹ *Cartularium Sanctissimae Trinitatis Vindocinensis*, ed. Metais, vol. 1, p. 273, no. 158. See Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 354-5 and fn. 7 for further examples.

⁴⁴⁰ eg. *Cartulaire de Saint-Maur de Glanfeuil* in *Archives d'Anjou. Recueil de documents et mémoires inédits sur cette province*, ed. P. Marchegay, vol. 1, (Angers, 1843), here p. 381, no. 38: *Ego Fulco gratia Dei comes...*

⁴⁴¹ Y. Labande-Mailfert. "Le premier cartulaire de Saint-Nicholas d'Angers (XIe-XIIe siècles): essai de reconstitution précédé d'une étude historique," Thèse de l'Ecole nationale des chartes, (1931), ms. Arch. dép. de M.-et-L. ms 1 M21 (R1-4), no. 3. See Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 354-5 and fn. 8 for further examples.

⁴⁴² Foulon, "Réflexions autour de l'application de la réforme pontificale en France: le cas du Val de Loire", here p. 113 ; *Fragmentum Historiae Andegavensis*, in *Chroniques des comtes d'Anjou et des seigneurs d'Amboise*, eds. L. Halphen and R. Poupardin, (Paris, 1913), pp. 232-8.

as lacking the political intelligence of his uncle.⁴⁴³ Certainly, rivalry with his younger brother, Fulk IV, le Réchin, over le Barbu's attempts to install his own candidate to the episcopal see of le Mans, and land losses can be seen to have reversed many of the advancing policies of their predecessors.⁴⁴⁴ Indeed, Fulk's use of the formula that granted him visible involvement in the elevation of the abbot of Saint-Aubin in 1082 would have made a strong statement about the lordship that he exercised at this time. In the face of a tempestuous rule, it allowed him to make a statement about the origins of his power, in contrast to the military origins of the nobles surrounding him, to show his legitimacy in response to the potential challenges of his brother, and to allow him to participate in this spiritual event that was witnessed by the community and their saintly patrons.

Summary

It is on the basis of the type of comital power that these charters put forward in 1060 and 1082, and the relevance of the *dispositio* from the first third of the eleventh century into the last, that it is proposed that the comital role in these abbatial elevations did not change so much as previous commentators have suggested. The reasons for their desire to project this role of strong, virtuous, charismatic lordship might have changed, and this is something that can be witnessed by the individual variants among the texts. Nonetheless, the fact that the actions described by these texts remained valid throughout the eleventh century is strongly indicative of the values that the scribes put forward remaining contemporary.

⁴⁴³ W. Scott Jesse, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098* (Washington, D.C., 2000), pp. 54-5 ; Guillot, *Le Comte d'Anjou et son entourage au XIe siècle*, vol. 1, pp. 191-3; Foulon, "La papauté réformatrice", p. 37.

⁴⁴⁴ H. B. Teunis, *The appeal to the original status : social justice in Anjou in the eleventh century* (Hilversum, 2006), pp. 75-6 ; Jesse, *Robert the Burgundian and the Counts of Anjou, ca. 1025-1098*, p. 61.

Conclusion

The topic of abbatial elections is not unfamiliar to historians, and nor is its association with moments of great social and religious reforms in Europe. It remains, however, that previous studies have focused on either the normative aspects of the topic, studying changing theories and rules concerning the process and its ideologies, or formed prosopographical or political studies into the elevation of particular candidates.

The corpus of sources described here as electoral charters and forming the principle body of evidence for the study is not copious in comparison to some, but it gives a great many indications concerning the importance and use of abbatial elections and the charters associated with them within eleventh century society. The studies of Guillot, Jarousseau and Ziezulewicz which form the main corpus of literature dedicated to these particular charters, have focused on the political dimensions to each abbatial elevation, however, they have not considered the political statements made by each set of charters, nor the articulation of relationships that can be seen.

At first glance, the charters of election that form the basis of this study can appear to be routine things of habit and conditioning. Based around three main formulas with attendant variations, the use of each formula appears initially to fall into a neat and defined timescale. For advocates of the historiographical paradigm of change, the convenience of this pattern might be cited as proof of the changes taking place in society: for every change that took place, an element of the formulaic text became inappropriate and a new one had to be devised. Thus, in the studies cited above, we have been left with the observed pattern of traditional delegation, a reform of investiture that foreshadowed the changes in ecclesiastical-lay relationship brought about by the Gregorian reform, and a stubborn retreat by counts le Barbu and le Réchin back into the old, traditional, delegatory modes of abbatial elevations in order to cling onto an increasingly outmoded form of power.

The Early Charters

However, it has been demonstrated here that the early charters were a much richer source than this models allows. These six charters of election display five delegations and one succession, the latter, of 988, taking the form of a delegation by predecessor. The charter might be cited by those searching for reform or change in the eleventh century ecclesiastical mindset as conforming to a much more Benedictine conception of abbatial elevation. Contextualising the documents in their contemporary political and social situation, as well as considering the variations among each of them pertaining to a certain formula, however, has demonstrated that the formula used for these early charters allowed a flexibility to respond to its contemporary political circumstances. Thus, we can see references to the hereditary nature of the right to appoint the abbatial office appear when times were politically tempestuous, and a heavier focus placed on the sanctity of the event for the charter of 1001, following a period politically and personally difficult for the count. In this way, each charter seems to have acted as a tool for the count to institute or publicise a change in society, and display his right to do so.

The charter of 988, recording an abbatial appointment by predecessor, demonstrates an acceptance of a recognised preponderant and legitimate role for the count when an abbatial vacancy came about due to the death of an abbot. From the language used to describe the abbatial delegation of the departing abbot, it is clear that a difference was made between the two forms of succession, but that the monastic scribe nonetheless recognised a legitimate role for the count. By the language of transfer used, most especially the use of *praeficere*, it can be seen that the monastic scribe recognised the count's role to guard the abbatial office. The action that this term implied was the creation of a relationship of lord-vassal, or grantor-grantee more accurately, with all the alterations to the status of each and expected modes of behaviour between the two that this entailed. Thus the count was shown to have the responsibility to grant it to a candidate to guard for the period of his lifetime; but upon the death of the holder, the count held the office fully and globally by virtue of his place in society, divinely appointed to protect and

defend the monastery. In this way, the charters of election were a tool for comital policy, and allowed the count to display an otherwise intangible element of his lordship. Conversely, and thereby forming a self-sustaining and perpetuating cycle, the visible enacting of this role gave the count this charisma in the eyes of witnesses, whose memories were encapsulated in the document produced.

The charter refers to his right in a very appropriatorial way, describing the count's actions within the area in which he had been given responsibility as *nostrum dominatus*. This schema of authority within the Christian community was supported in these charters by an arenga which extolled the virtues of each person fulfilling the role that they had been given within Creation. In contrast, the term used to describe the out-going abbot's action to create a successor is *providere*, suggesting something less, perhaps the granting of the office to a caretaker to sustain, whilst full responsibility for the office remained with the man fully invested with it by the authority legitimated to do so.

Thus, if Jarousseau pointed to a tension between the charter of reform which appeared to grant free elections as a pious and worthy donation to a monastic community, it must be noted that the charters contain no such tensions. Indeed, comital actions are justified and explained as those which should be, correctly happening within a divinely appointed order.

An important feature of the charter of 988 is its emphasis on the character of the good abbot drawn from the *RSB*'s requirements of its monastic leaders. In many ways, this authority attempts to fill some of the void left by the count's absence, by giving a legitimacy to the proceedings that selected such a worthy man. It is important to note, however, that the emphasis on these virtues here seems in no way to have detracted from the efficacy or virtue of the comital delegations. Thus, if the monastic community could make use of the requirements of the *RSB* in order to justify their actions, they felt no need to do so with the charters of delegation. In these the rhetorical framework is the order of Creation.

These early charters of election have many similarities with contemporary charters of donation or gift-giving, most especially their memorial function, emphasised by the *pro anima* clauses. These show once again that the count was creating and renewing a certain relationship with the monastic community, and with their saintly patrons, each time he delegated a new monastic head. Indeed, the charter thereby presents each delegation as a pious act, and one that would retain the count in the memory of the foundation. In this way again, he could be seen to be fulfilling his allotted role in society,

Memorial function was also created through the role played by lists of signatories, each introduced with the word *Signum*. This sign indicated not only that these people had been present, but also that they lent their support to the terms of the deed. To anyone seeing or hearing the charter after its creation, it would be as if they had been present to view the occasion themselves.⁴⁴⁵ For charters of the eleventh-century Loire which introduced the autograph crosses of the principal players of the act with anathema and curse clauses, these threats remained active, making memory of the action prominent and reconstructing the power balance being exhibited.

A Revelation of Investiture?

The 1037 charter of election pertaining to the monastery of Montier-la-Celle, by contrast, has been held up as an example of a moderate local reform which paved the way for the more sweeping reforms of the Gregorian movement. Next to the charter for Saint-Florent of 1055, which followed a different textual formula but reflected very similar ideas, the two are characterised as introducing a dual investiture into the procedure of abbatial elections. The other two documents which followed the formula of text set out by 1037 pertain to monastic elevations in Angers in 1056 and 1073. We have considered these charters alongside another charter, which perhaps unknowingly revealed details of the procedure of monastic

⁴⁴⁵ Morelle, "Les chartes ", pp. 281-2 .

elevations that are otherwise hidden by their own charters. The notion of dual investiture arises from the participation of a monastic alongside the count and the charters' explicit description of the two parts of the abbatial role. Thus, the count is seen to invest the new abbot with the temporal matters relating to the abbey, whilst a bishop blesses the abbot-elect, confirming his election.

These charters display a notable change in comparison to the previous charters of election, in the expansion of their narrative and the volume of details concerning the rites that appear. These were much nearer textualisations of rites than the earlier charters had been. The rites that appear here which appear to be entirely novel in comparison to previous charters of election, in fact echo strongly the rituals and process of gift-giving which were recognised means for transferring property. Their apparent originality, therefore, is entirely that. This argument is supported by an examination of the alternative account of the elevation of 1056, which describes a collective in the chapterhouse of the monastery of Saint-Aubin, the place where the first rite of gift giving – the putting into the hands of the recipient the gift – would take place. The parallels of the pastoral staff described with one of the many symbols of gift used in rituals of transaction, is apparent.

However, stronger evidence from this alternative source for the lack of innovation of proceedings emerges from the monastic author's explanation of Count Geoffrey's presence, who is said to have come there to set the abbot-elect in charge of the care of souls. It seems, therefore, that rather than indicating that new procedure emerged in 1037, or the 1050s in Anjou, it was the charters recording the events had altered. In essence, the count's gift of the abbatial office to a chosen monastic leader remained the same. We cannot argue backwards with great strength that the early delegations must have followed a similar procedure, whereby the count gave the abbot-elect a symbol of the gift such as a baton, before a blessing, however, there is nothing in the early charters of delegation that nullifies the concept that this might have happened. Certainly, the alternative document employs the same terms of transmission concerning the abbatial office that the delegations had done.

A reform of the investiture process on the occasion of abbatial elevations was proposed due to the appearance of new details in the charters of election that recorded these. Thus, if it seems that practice was not altering we must consider that the documentation recording it had. Certainly, there is an increase in narrative surrounding the events of the election and the people present. The changes in language surrounding the two realms of the abbots role, of the *rerum temporalium* and the *animarum curam*, can be shown to have been current in some contemporary French ecclesiastical circles, and we should perhaps not, therefore, find their appearance so surprising. In many ways, it is the perception of the two-stage process described by the charters that might be seen to change, rather than procedure itself. Thus, if a count made a gift of the abbacy using rituals similar to those used to gift land or any other rights, with a form of blessing taking place after the transfer, then the beauty of investiture reform that was proposed by Guillot was that it has only to reside in the minds of those witnessing the events and assigning to them new meaning. Nonetheless, the charters of election still maintain and justify a comital involvement from the 1050s through reference to the monastery's place within his *dominium*.

Consequently, if a change in practice and in the theory of comital involvement in abbatial elections cannot be demonstrated, it is suggested that these documents instead reflect the *mutation documentaire*, their narratives revealing new details concerning the process of abbatial elevations. Evidence might be cited of a new monastic self-awareness which reflected itself in the 1056 alternative's questions concerning the existence of any *malae consuetudines*. Although their apparent novelty might suggest that new exactions were being made, Barthélemy has demonstrated that it was the recording of these complaints that was novel rather than the exactions.⁴⁴⁶

⁴⁴⁶ Barthélemy, "(Note critique)".

Finally, the third group of electoral charters that identifies itself by similarity of formula is perhaps that which best illustrates the continuity that seems to have existed in the practice of abbatial elevations in the eleventh century. Similarly, they demonstrate that the authoritative image of power that counts projected through these charters lost none of its lustre over the course of the century, and whether to display this in victory, or to project it in hope, the charters of election created to record the accessions of new monastic leaders allowed a consistency of political statement.

For those desiring to find a reform of investitures in mid- eleventh century Anjou, the use of a *dispositio* first seen in 1028 in two charters of 1060 and 1082 cannot be encouraging. For the first appearance of this formula, it referred to the elevation of the first abbess to a new comital foundation in Angers. It may have been easier to introduce new customs to a new foundation rather than to an established one, however, the actions and appearance of the count, with family, and lay people agreeing to an election strongly resembles the comital delegations of the early charters.

Alterations for the charter of 1036, which resumed the use of this formula, however, do show variants, including the description of the agreement of bishop Hubert of Angers before that of the count. This, in combination with the slightly odd phraseology of the request that the monks made, *that he should be constituted and consecrated as our patron and abbot*, might seem to suggest the emergence of a dual-phase granting of the abbatial office. However, as with the details of the succession of 1056 which reveal that what the charter displayed as a dual investiture was more likely to have been granting of the abbatial office followed by a blessing, the evidence contained in this charter does not form enough to demonstrate a change in attitude concerning who held the abbatial office and how it could therefore be transmitted.

It has been suggested that the reappearance of the *dispositio* in combination with the earliest *arenga* to document the monastic successions of 1060 and 1082 was a response to less glorious times for the counts of Anjou, and their desire to make a statement concerning their authority and role in society. The crucial point, however, is that the values that monastic scribes textualised in these documents can be seen to have remained valid throughout the eleventh century.

In light of the evidence provided by these charters of election, it is difficult to argue that the comital role changed significantly during the eleventh century. The move away from documents recording straight comital delegations is evident. However, for the charters that came after them, there is little to prove that the actions which took place on these occasions, or the meanings drawn from the concerning the role of the count within society, changed. Where counts had delegated by virtue of their God-given responsibility to protect society and provide for the security of these monastic houses, the duty does not seem to be shown to have lessened throughout the eleventh century, even if other elements in the election began to be introduced into the descriptions in the charters.

The preservation of these charters in their cartularies demonstrates a desire on the part of the monastic community to which they pertained to preserve the memories of these documents. It is not immediately evident that the charters would have been expected to have been used in the course of dispute resolution. Instead, the commemorative value within the charters formed part of a historical narrative of the institutions to which they pertained, and their collection was therefore intimately connected with creating and maintaining institutional identity. In gathering together these documents as a response to their increasing self-awareness, monastic scribes preserved not only details of the transactions, but of the benefactors who had been involved and the relationships they had created with the monastery. In this way, the production and preservation of these documents formed a two-way benefit, mirroring the relationship established and re-established between count and monastic community on the occasions of gift-giving.

The language and implications of relationships that the flexible formulas of charters therefore enabled allowed representation of comital power in Anjou, and the use of liturgical phrases and invocations served to emphasise the position and responsibility of counts granted by God. Charters from the eleventh-century Loire seem to show an attention to the projection of comital image with the superlatives used, but also frequent allusion to the divine favour and divinely-appointed role that underwrote comital authority. Such self-portrayal gave these lords a certain degree of legitimate authority over monasteries and allowed them to insert themselves into a liturgical setting.⁴⁴⁷ And by acting in correspondence with the demands of God described in the charters' arengae or suggested by the epithet, *Dei gratia*, the actions of the grantor described by the charter corresponded to expected behaviour of a just lord, allowing dominance of the political moment.

⁴⁴⁷ Koziol, *Begging pardon and favor: ritual and political order in early medieval France*, pp. 42-3.

Appendix 1

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1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita optemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens adductus ad claritatem visionis Dei pertingere queat. 2. Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et homicidiis et voluptatibus se dedentes mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. 3. Propterea ultor barbarorum inmissus est gladius quo non iuveni non pepercit seni nec pupillo vel viduę sed ut fere morsibus cuncta decerpentes inhabitabilem reddiderunt terram. 4. Denique loca que quondam reges ducesque ac principes in firma positi pace deo dicaverunt hęc nunc heu exusta atque ferarum habitacula potius quam hominum esse conspiciamus. 5. Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quę deus nostro dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.

6. Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine *Gozfredus Andecavensium comes una cum consensu Nefingi Andecavensis* episcopi vel etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet animę patris nostri Fulconis et matris nostrę Gerbergę seu etiam pro reliquorum nostrorum parentum requię delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Albertum salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus talem ut post obitum eius quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem. 7. Concedimus quoque eis ut nulla in eorum terra vicaricia dominetur potestas nisi de homicidio aut furto vel incendio. 8. Terram quoque quam invenimus ad integrum reddimus nec ullus presumptor arroganter exinde aliquid audeat usurpare et usurpata retinere. 9. Et ut hoc scriptum inviolatum et integrum perhenniter sit manu propria firmavimus manibus quoque procerum nostrorum roborandum obtulimus. 10. Denique quoniam non nullorum in sancta dei ecclesia rabiem ita grassari pro dolor cernimus ut stipendia fratrum nequaquam usurpare usurpatave retinere vereantur ex omnipotentis auctoritate ne id contra prefatum

sanctum albinum presumant omnimodo prohibemus. **11.** Quod si quis presumpserit monachisque inibi famulantibus aliquam iniuriam intulerit ter ammonitus nisi resipuerit quadrienio communione privetur. **12.** Si autem quod absit induruerit perpetuo anathemate feriatursi nisi forte ab ipsis fratribus digna satisfactione correptus recipi mereatur.

13. X Ramnulfus monachus X Nefingus episcopus subscripsi. S. Gaufridi comitis. X Burchardus levita et archidiaconus. X Ernustus diaconus et archidiaconus. Walterius presbyter et archiclavus. Geilo presbyter et monachus. Gerardus presbyter et monachus. Rostagnus diaconus et monachus. Item, Gerardus diaconus et monachus. Tedevimus presbyter et monachus. Vitalis clericus et monachus. Constantinus clericus et monachus. Rotbertus monachus. Arbertus monachus. Albuinus monachus. Amalricus monachus. Arbertus monachus. Albuinus monachus. Amalricus. Ubertus Durannus. Martinus. S. Rainaldi vicecomitis S. Griferii. S. Kaheloni. S. Heudo. S. Urso. S. Warnerii. S. Odoni. S. Goul. S. Walterii. S. Gauzberti. S. Arduini. Adelinus sacerdos scripsi et subscripsi.

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving, be lead [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight of God. **2.** For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way and abandoning themselves to murders and pleasure. They cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. **3.** Therefore, the revenger that has been sent is the sword of the barbarians, which spared neither the young nor the old, neither the orphan nor the widow, and thus the wild beasts tearing at everything have rendered the earth uninhabitable with their bite. **4.** Indeed, we see now that the places which once kings, dukes and princes dedicated to God and founded in lasting peace, alas! {have been] destroyed by fire and [become] the dwelling places of wild beasts rather than men. **5.** The situation

exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.

6. Accordingly I, Count Geoffrey of Anjou in the name of God, together with the general consent of Nefingue Bishop of Angers and also of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of the soul of our father Fulk and our mother Gerberga and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Albert, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish. **7.** We also grant them the privilege that no outside power shall exercise control in their lands except in cases of murder, theft, or arson. **8.** We also restore in its entirety the land which we acquired, and furthermore, let not any presumptuous fellow arrogantly dare to seize any part [of it] and dare to keep what he seized. **9.** And so that this document may exist in perpetuity, whole and complete, we have confirmed [it] with our own hand and we offered [it] to [the hands] of our nobles that it might be strengthened. **10.** Finally, because we unfortunately see the madness of some in the Holy Church of God thus to run riot so that they do not at all fear to seize the stipends of the brothers and to retain what has been seized, by the authority of the All-Powerful we forbid [these actions] completely, lest they dare it against the aforesaid Saint-Aubin. **11.** But if anyone should dare to inflict some injury to the monks serving in that place, after being warned three times, unless he comes to his senses, let him be deprived of community for four years. **12.** But if, God forbid, he has hardened, let him be struck by permanent excommunication, unless perchance, having been chastised by the brothers themselves with the appropriate penalty, he may merit to be taken back.

13. X Ramnulfus monk X Nefingus bishop signed. S. Gaufridi count. X Burchardus deacon and archdeacon. X Ernustus deacon and archdeacon. Walterius priest et treasurer. Geilo priest and monk. Gerardus priest and monk. Rostagnus deacon and monk. Also, Gerardus deacon and monk. Tedevimus priest and monk. Vitalis cleric and monk. Constantinus cleric and monk. Rotbertus monk. Arbertus monk. Albuinus monk. Amalricus monk. Arbertus monk. Albuinus monk. Amalricus. Ubertus Durannus. Martinus. S Rainaldi viscount. S. Griferii. S. Kaheloni. S. Heudo. S. Urso. S. Warnerii. S. Odoni. S. Goul. S. Walterii. S. Gauzberti. S. Arduini. Adelinus priest wrote and subscribed it.

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita optemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis Dei pertingere queat. **2.** Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. **3.** Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quę deus nostro dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.

4. Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine *Gozfredus Andecavensium comes una cum consensu filii nostri Fulconni* vel etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet anime nostre patrique necne simul et matris seu etiam pro reliquorum parentum nostrorum requię delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Gonterium salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus ut post eius obitum quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem. **5.** Concedimus quoque eis ut nulla in eorum terra vicaricia dominetur potestas nisi de furto aut incendio vel homicidio. **6.** Et ut hoc scriptum inconvulsum et integrum perhenniter manu propria firmavimus manibusque procerum nostrorum roborandum obtulimus.

7. S. Gaufridi comitis. S. Rainaldi episcopi. S. Geiloni monachi. S. Widdoni monachi. S. Girardi monachi. S. Wikardi monachi. S. Herberti monachi. S. Otbranni monachi. S. Letardi monachi. S. Walterii monachi. S. Heldeverti monachi. S. Otberti monachi. S. Ungerii monachi. S. Rainoldi monachi. S. Adhelelmi monachi. S. Alberti monachi. S. Unberti monachi.

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this

is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight of God. **2.** For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way, they cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. **3.** The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.

4. Accordingly I, Count Geoffrey of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of our son Fulk and also of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of our soul and of our father and our mother and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Gontier, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish. **5.** We also grant them the privilege that no outside power shall exercise control in their lands except in cases of theft, arson, or murder. **6.** And so that this document may exist in perpetuity, whole and complete, we have confirmed [it] with our own hand and we offered [it] to [the hands] of our nobles that it might be strengthened.

7. S. Gaufridi count. S. Rainaldi bishop. S. Geiloni monk. S. Widdoni monk. S. Girardi monk. S. Wikardi monk. S. Herberti monk. S. Otbranni monk. S. Letardi monk. S. Walterii monk. S. Heldeverti monk. S. Otberti monk. S. Ungerii monk. S. Rainoldi monk. S. Adhelelmi monk. S. Alberti monk. S. Unberti monk.

1. Omnibus in domo quibus est Christus vivere et mori lucrum et potissimum sub iugo regule sancti benedicti sponte colla submittentibus, qui iubet ut monachi monasterio degentes abbatem sibi preesse desiderent, 2. notissimum esse volumus quod, anno DCCCCLXXXVIII incarnationis dominice, recedens a loco Sancti Albini abbas Gunterius quem, pro fidelitate Dei et sue anime remedio, nobilissimus inter suos [*Gozfredus comes*] eidem loco prefecerat, et Romam vel, quod maius est, matrem civitatum Hierusalem expetens, 3. gratia orationis successorem sibi presago spiritu providerit, cui animarum simul et corporum curam committeret [*Rainaldum*], vite et morum probitate decorum, quem ipse in Christi nomine nutrierat, 4. cum consensu tamen fratrum prefati loci et elegantissimi iuvenis filii predicti comitis Gozfredi, qui in loco patris feliciter successit, nomine Fulconis, 5. cui electioni providente gratia Dei, ut credimus, prudentissimorum pontificum, clericorum quoque et nobilium laicorum, *et super his omnibus electio simul et acclamatio predictae congregationis concordare videtur in melius, 6. eo tenore videlicet ut secundum regulam sancti Benedicti, qui est pater et dux advocatus quoque post Deum omnium fidelium monachorum, tam in hoc seculo quam in futuro, in omnibus conversari pro posse et nosse studeat et plus prodesse quam preesse satagat, 7. et omnia cum consilio fratrum timentium Deum provide et iuste disponat, 8. ut cum venerit pastor pastorum cui redditurus est rationem de sibi commissis animabus, addita et sue anime audire gaudenter mereatur 9. quod servus bonus qui erogavit talentum sibi creditum conservis suis in tempore suo, "Euge, serve bone et fidelis. Intra in gaudium Domini tui."

10. Widdo episopus subscripsi

Sig	num Ful
comis ti co	incli mitis.

1. To all in this house for whom to live is Christ and to die is gain and who, above all, place their necks voluntarily under the yoke of the Rule of St. Benedict, who commands that monks living in a monastery need an abbot to preside over them, 2. we wish it to be known that in the year of the Lord's incarnation 988, Abbot Gontier left Saint-Aubin, whom [Count Geoffrey], that most noble of his own men, had placed in charge at that same place by virtue of his [the Abbot's] faithfulness to God and for the salvation of this own [Count Geoffrey's] soul, wanting to go to Rome or, what is more important, to Jerusalem, the mother of cities. 3. As a result of prayer and with a prophetic spirit, he provided a successor [Renaud] for them, to whom he could entrust the care of their souls and also their bodies, suitable because of the uprightness of his life and character, whom he himself had raised in the name of Christ, 4. yet with the consent of the brothers of the aforesaid place and of the most discriminating young man, the son of the aforesaid Count Geoffrey by the name of Fulk, who happily succeeded his father, 5. with the grace of God bringing about his election, just as, we believe, [that] of the most prudent bishops, clerics, and noble laymen, and besides all these [things], the election and likewise the acclamation of the aforesaid group seems to agree all the better 6. by that course, namely so that following the Rule of St. Benedict, who is the father and guide and also the counsellor, after God, of all faithful monks, so in this world as in the next, he should strive in all things to act according to his ability and knowledge, and he should busy himself more with doing good than with being in charge. 7. And he should manage all things prudently and properly, with the advice of God-fearing brothers 8. So that when the shepherd of shepherds will have come, to whom he will render an account of the souls entrusted to him, and with [an account] of his own soul having been added, he may deserve to hear joyfully 9. what the good servant [heard], who spent the talent having been entrusted to him on his fellow-servants as was needed, "Well done, good and faithful servant. Enter into the joy of your Lord."

10. Bishop Guy subscribed.

S. glorious Count Fulk

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita obtemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis Dei pertingere queat. **2.** Ipse enim est a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. **3.** Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quę nostro deus dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.

4. Quam ob rem ego *in dei nomine Fulco Andecavensium comes* una cum cunsensu nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet animę mee patrisque necne simul et matris seu etiam pro reliquorum parentum nostrorum requię delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Girardum salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus ut post eius obitum quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem. **5.** Concedimus quoque eis ut nulla in eorum terra vicaricia dominetur potestas nisi de furto aut incendio vel omicidio. **6.** Et ut hoc scriptum inconvulsum et integrum perhenniter permaneat manu propria subter firmamus.

Sig	num
Ful	conis
com	itis

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight of God. 2. For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way, they cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. 3. The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.

4. Accordingly I, Count Fulk of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of our soul and of our father and our mother and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Girard, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish. 5. We also grant them the privilege that no outside power shall exercise control in their lands except in cases of theft, arson, or murder. 6. And so that this document may exist in perpetuity, whole and complete, we have confirmed [it] with our own hand.

Signum Count Fulk

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita obtemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis Dei pertingere queat. **2.** Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et homicidiis et voluptatibus se dantes mundo qui in maligno positus est adhererunt. **3.** Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quę deus nostro dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.

4. Quam ob rem *ego in dei nomine Fulco Andecavorum comes* una cum consensu Rainaldi andecavensis episcopi vel etiam nobilium monachorum seu etiam nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Huncbertum salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium **5.** et super his omnibus adclamantis nobilium canonicorum seu laicorum et videlicet tenore ut secundum regulam sancti Benedicti qui est pater et dux advocatus quoque post deum omnium fidelium monachorum tam in hoc seculo quam in futuro **6.** in omnibus conversare pro posse et nosse studeat et plus prodesse quam preesse satagat et omnia cum consilio fratrum timentium deum provide et juste disponat ut cum venerit pastor pastorum cui redditurus est rationem de sibi commissis animabus addita et suę anime **7.** audire gaudenter mereatur quod servus bonus qui erogavit talentum sibi creditum cum servis suis tempore suo: “Euge, bone serve et fidelis. Intra in gaudium Domini tui.”

8. Data mense septembrio, die tertia, anno nono regnante Rotberto rege

9. Walo monachus scripsit.

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his]

role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight of God. **2.** For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way and abandoning themselves to murders and pleasure. They cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. **3.** The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.

4. Accordingly I, Count Fulk of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of Rainald, Bishop of Angers, and of the noble monks, and also of our loyal nobles we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Hubert, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, **5.** And in addition to all these things [with the consent of the] acclaiming noble canons or lay [canons], in that tenor in accordance with the Rule of St. Benedict, who is the father and leader and helper of all faithful monks, after God, so in this world as in the next. **6.** In all things let him strive to act according to his ability and knowledge and let him worry more about being useful than being in charge, and to manage all things properly and prudently, with the advice of the God-fearing brothers, so that when the shepherd of shepherds comes, to whom an account will be rendered regarding the souls entrusted to him, and with [and account] of his own soul having been added, **7.** he may deserve to hear joyfully what the good servant [heard], who spent the talent having been entrusted to him on his fellow-servants as was needed, "Well done, good and faithful servant. Enter into the joy of your Lord."

8. Dated in the third day of the month of September, in the ninth year of the reign of King Robert.

9. Monk Walo wrote [it].

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita optemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis Dei pertingere queat. **2.** Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt deum aversi sunt retrorsum et mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. **3.** Nobis vero quibus pro anima res est necnon ad aliud vacamus satagendum est ut quę deus nostro dominatui subdiderit, allevare pro posse studeamus.

4. *Quam ob rem ego in dei nomine Fulco Andecavensium comes* una cum cunsensu nobilium personarum nostrorum fidelium pro remedio videlicet animę mee patrisque necne simul et matris seu etiam pro reliquorum parentum nostrorum requię delegamus abbatem in monasterio Sancti Albini nomine Primaldum salva voluntate monachorum ibidem degentium eisque licentiam concedimus ut post eius obitum quemcumque melius voluerint abbatem eligendi habeant potestatem. **5.** Concedimus quoque eis ut nulla in eorum terra vicaricia dominetur potestas nisi de furto aut incendio vel homicidio. **6.** Et ut hoc scriptum inconvulsum et integrum perhenniter permaneat manu propria subter firmamus.

Sig	num
Ful	con
is	co
mi	tis

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight of God. 2. For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook God, having been diverted the opposite way, they cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. 3. The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and because of which fact must certainly be addressed by us, we who are free from other [concerns]. Thus we should strive as much as possible to alleviate what God has placed under our rule.

4. Accordingly I, Count Fulk of Anjou in the name of God, together with the consent of our loyal nobles, for the salvation of our soul and of our father and our mother and also for the relief of our other ancestors, we appoint as abbot in the monastery of Saint-Aubin [a man] by the name of Primaldus, without denying the choice of the monks living in that place, and we grant to them the following freedom: that after his death they rightly have the power to choose as abbot whomsoever they wish. 5. We also grant them the privilege that no outside power shall exercise control in their lands except in cases of theft, arson, or murder. 6. And so that this document may exist in perpetuity, whole and complete, we have confirmed [it] with our own hand.

Signum Count Fulk

Appendix 2

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1. Certum est omnibus qui fundamenta catholicae puritatis nouerunt totius aecclesiae soliditatem in pace consistere, et signum Christi discipulatus in dilectione. 2. Nam sicut in evangelio dominum dixisse legimus: "Pacem relinquo uobis, pacem meam do uobis", et iterum: "In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei estis discipuli, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem", liquet ergo neminem fore Christi discipulum, nisi signo dilectionis ac pacis fuerit insignitus. 3. Hoc vero signaculum non adipiscitur, nisi ab his in quibus fuerit unitas voluntatum. 4. Unitas autem voluntatum invenire non potest, nisi in his qui suum velle nolleve in unius prepositi iuditio constituent. 5. Unde et auctor pacis nullum ordinem in ecclesia sine prelati regimine relinquens, pro certo insinuat nulla alia ratione fragilitatem humanae labilitatis ad unitatem spiritus posse redigi sive in pace conservari. 6. Quare nos pauci fratres in cenobio cui Cella Boboni nomen est Deo pro posse famulantes, quia vinculum pacis et signaculum Christianae disciplinae dilectionem per unitatem cordis vel animae possidere cupimus, post obitum domni Warini abbatis, viri religiosi, elegimus fratrem quendam morum probitate ornatum nomine Bernardum, 7. quem nobis vice patris preesse volumus, et in diffinitione eius sententiarum nostrarum uniri diversitatem, ne diversa sencientes a Christi doctrina inveniamur extranei. 8. Facta est autem electio ista consilio atque auctoritate domni abbatis Maioris Monasterii post excessum gloriosi principis Odonis, a quo huius rei curam susceperat. 9. Qui hoc in conventu monachorum ritu celebri peracto optulit etiam fratrem praedictum nobilissimae H[ermengardi] comitissae, sub cuius ditione locus ipse consistit, et Stephano comiti eius filio, a quibus donum rerum temporalium ad idem pertinentium cenobium suscepit. 10. Dehinc vero statuit eum venerabili Mainardo Trecassinorum presuli, cuius ecclesiastica auctoritate electionem huiusmodi corroborari oportuit, atque ab ipso animarum curam suscipi, necnon abbatis benedictionem secundum institutionem patrum celebrari. 11. Quod ipse benignissime annuit, et omnia prout mos expostulat ecclesiasticus utpote vir prudentissimus atque eruditione clarus complevit.

1. It is certain for all who are familiar with the foundation of catholic purity that the solidity of the entire Church is rooted in peace, and the sign of discipleship of Christ in love. **2.** For just as we read in the gospel that the Lord said: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you', and again, 'By this all shall know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another', so it is clear that no one will be a disciple of Christ unless he is marked with the sign of love and peace. **3.** However, this sign will not be obtained except by those in whom [there] is unity of wills. **4.** But one cannot find unity of wills except in those who place their wishes or denials before the judgement of one. **5.** And thus the author of peace, leaving no [monastic?] order in the Church without the direction of a prelate, certainly intimates that [there is] no other way the frailty of human defect may be brought to a unity of spirit or maintained in peace. **6.** Therefore we few brothers in the monastery, the name of which is the Cell of Bobbio, serving God as [we are] able, because we long to possess the bond of peace [Ephesians 4.3] and the sign of Christian teaching [which is] love through unity of heart or spirit, after the death of lord Abbot Warinus, a devout man, we chose a certain brother by the name of Bernard, distinguished by his uprightness of character, **7.** whom we wish to take charge of us like a father and in accordance with his ruling unite the difference[s] of our opinions, lest we are found strangers to the teaching of Christ by [our] conflicting opinions. **8.** Moreover, this election took place under the advice and authority of the lord Abbot of the Greater Monastery, after the death of the renowned prince Odo, from whom he had taken up the responsibility of the task. **9.** In this assembly of the monks he performed the illustrious rite and then brought forward the afore-mentioned brother before the most noble Countess H[ermengarde], who was in control of this place, and Count Stephanus her son, from whom he took over the gift of temporal matters relevant to the monastery. **10.** Then he placed him before the venerable Mainard, Bishop of Troyes, by whose ecclesiastic authority an election of this sort had to be corroborated, and from whom the care of souls is taken up and also the blessing of the Abbot is performed according to the instructions of the Fathers. **11.** He himself assented most kindly,

and completed everything just as the ecclesiastic custom demanded, as a man most prudent and renowned for [his] learning.

1. Certum est omnibus qui fundamenta catholice puritatis noverunt totius ecclesie stabilitatem in pace consistere et signum Christi discipulatus in dilectione. 2. Nam si in evangelio dominum dixisse legimus: "Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis", et iterum: "In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei estis discipuli, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem", liquet ergo neminem fore Christi discipulum, nisi signo dilectionis ac pacis fuerit insignitus. 3. Hoc vero signaculum non adipiscitur, nisi ab his in quibus fuerit unitas voluntatum. 4. Voluntatum autem unius invenire non potest, nisi in his qui suum velle et nolle in unius prepositi iudicio constituunt. 5. Unde et auctor pacis nullum ordinem in ecclesia sine prelati regimine relinquens, pro certo insinuat nulla alia ratione fragilitatem humane labilitatis ad unitatem spiritus posse redigi sive in pace conservari. 6. Qua re nos fratres pauci in cenobio Sancti Albini Andecavensis episcopi Deo pro posse famulantes, quia vinculum pacis et signaculum christiane discipline dilectionem per unitatem cordis vel animae possidere cupimus, elegimus fratrem quendam morum probitate ornatum nomine Teodericum, 7. quem nobis vice Christi patrem preesse volumus, et in diffinitione eius sententiarum nostrarum uniri ne diversa sentientes a Christi doctrina inveniamur extranei. 8. Facta est autem ista electio consilio atque auctoritate domni Alberti abbatis Maioris Monasterii 9. qui hoc in conventu monachorum ritu celebri peracto obtulit etiam fratrem praedictum Gaufrido preclarissimo comiti, sub cuius ditione locus ipse consistit, a quo etiam donum rerum temporalium ad idem pertinentium cenobium suscepit. 10. Deinde presentavit eum venerabili prudentissimoque patri Eusebio, Andecavensis Urbis episcopo, ut cui comes exterius tradiderat auctoritate sua dominium, episcopus debita benedictione consecrans ex more ecclesiastico curam committeret animarum. 11. Acta sunt hec, omnibus qui presentes erant gaudentibus, magisque jubilo quam voce plaudentibus: Feliciter, feliciter, feliciter.

1. It is certain for all who are familiar with the foundation of catholic purity that the stability of the entire Church is rooted in peace, and the sign of discipleship of

Christ in love. **2.** For just as we read in the gospel that the Lord said: 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you', and again, 'By this all shall know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another', so it is clear that no one will be a disciple of Christ unless he is marked with the sign of love and peace. **3.** However, this sign will not be obtained except by those in whom [there] is unity of wills. **4.** But one cannot find unity of wills except in those who place their wishes or denials before the judgement of one. **5.** And thus the author of peace, leaving no [monastic?] order in the Church without the direction of a prelate, certainly intimates that [there is] no other way the frailty of human defect may be brought to a unity of spirit or maintained in peace. **6.** Therefore we few brothers in the monastery, of bishop Saint Aubin of Angers, serving God as [we are] able, because we long to possess the bond of peace [Ephesians 4.3] and the sign of Christian teaching [which is] love through unity of heart or spirit, we chose a certain brother by the name of Theoderic, distinguished by his uprightness of character, **7.** whom we wish to take charge of us like the father of Christ and in accordance with his ruling unite the difference[s] of our opinions, lest we are found strangers to the teaching of Christ by [our] conflicting opinions. **8.** Moreover, this election took place under the advice and authority of the lord Abbot of Marmoutier. **9.** In this assembly of the monks he performed the illustrious rite and then brought forward the afore-mentioned brother before the very illustrious Count Geoffrey, in whose dominium this place stood, from whom he also received the gift of temporal things belonging to the same monastery. **10.** Then he presented him to the venerable and most prudent father Eusebius, bishop of the city of Angers, so that once the count had handed over the rule of the *exterius* with his authority, the bishop should consecrated [him] with the appropriate blessing, entrusting [to him] the care of souls according to the ecclesiastical custom. **11.** These [matters] were done with all who were present rejoicing and acclaiming with shouts of joy rather than with words: happily, happily, happily.

1. Christianę religionis maximeque propositi nostri, singularis est et summa perfectio, ubi nulla est in karitatis unitate dissensio. karitas autem nonservat unitatem, ubi diversa sentientium diversę sunt voluntates 2. Ut ergo unum fieri in karitate possimus, voluntates nostras ad eandem sententiam necesse est redigamus 3. Quod profecto fieri auctoritas apostolica monet, cum id ipsum sentientes plantaria scismatum eradicare nos docet 4. Sed ne preter viam currentibus labor sit itineris non solatium perventionis, ille nobis imitandum est qui se et viam profiteri dignatur, ut alleviet laborem, et veritatem, ut auferat suspicionem 5. Is vero est dominus Ihesus Christus qui cum ad suam humilitatem insinuandam diceret: non veni facere voluntatem meam sed eius qui misit me ad instructionem nostram, Qui mihi, inquit, ministrat, me sequatur 6. Unde si quod nos profiteamur, vere Christiani esse volumus, Christi magistri nostri vestigia sequi debemus, ne satisfaciētes voluntatibus propriis, promissionum eius efficiamur exortes cuius praeceptis per inobēdioentiam comprobamur rebelles 7. Non enim sine causa, sed congruę satis optimeque provisum est, ut secundum quandam rationem duo tantum ordines sint in ecclesiis, in prelatis unus, alter in subditis, ut cum grex male divisus per dissensionis oberrat anfractus, ad viam concordie pastoris sententia reducatur 8. Quod cum Christianis omnibus, nobis maxime servandum est monachis, qui ad hoc facultatibus (nos terrenis seculo renuntiantes) exvimus, ut nostris optemperando prepositis, exempla christi liberius expeditiusque sequeremur 9. Nichil enim valet opibus tantum abiectis superficie tenus, renuntiantis tepide coepta conversio, cum pravis adhuc moribus seculo fidem servat professionis periura transgressio. 10. Hęc et similia sepius pertractantes nos omnis congregatio sancti florentii⁴⁴⁸ salmurensis fratrem Sigonem nobis in abbatem elegimus, cuius optemperantes arbitrio regulariter in cęnobio concorditerque vivamus 11. Cui de moribus castigatis unum omnes pariter testimonium perhibemus, qui conversationis eius sobrietatem, castitatem, humilitatem, atque patientiam longo iam tempore experti sumus 12. Quem etiam

⁴⁴⁸ *nos omnis congregatio sancti florentii*] Guillot mistranscribed this as *Nos congregatio sancti Florenti*.

domino nostro Gausfrido preclarissimo comiti cuius iuris nostrum est monasterium unacum domno Alberto sancti martini maioris monasterii abbate cuius professus est ceterisque fratribus qui de eodem monasterio aderant, gratanter obtulimus, ut quod electio nostra decreverat, illius confirmaret auctoritas **13.** Deinde presentavimus eum venerabili prudentissimoque patri Eusebio andecavensis urbis episcopo, ut cui comes exterius tradiderat auctoritate sua dominium, episcopus debita benedictione consecrans, ex more ecclesiastico curam committeret animarum **14.** Acta sunt hec omnibus qui presentes erant gaudentibus magisque iubilio quam voce plaudentibus.

1. The single and highest perfection of the Christian religion, and especially of our way of life, is when no dissension in the unity of love. However, love does not preserve unity where desires are separated by diverse [ways] of thinking. **2.** Therefore, so that we may become one in love, it is necessary that we reduce our wills to the same way of thinking. **3.** Insofar as apostolic authority warns [that we] do this, since it teaches us, [who are] considering this very topic, to root out the shoots of schisms. **4.** But indeed, by proceeding contrary to that path, suffering during the journey may occur, not the consolation of arriving; we ought to imitate that [man, i.e. Christ], who is worthy to declare himself the way [allusion to John 14.6?], so that the toil may be lightened, and [who is worthy to declare himself] the truth, so that he removes mistrust. **5.** He truly is the Lord Jesus Christ, who, when he was speaking [and] about to refer to his humility (may be reflecting 1 Peter 5.5), [would say]: ‘I have not come to do my will but [the will] of him who sent me’, for our instruction he said, ‘Whoever serves me, let him follow me.’ **6.** Thus if we declare we wish to be truly Christians, we must follow the steps of Christ our master, lest satisfying our own wills, we are made exempt from His promises [and] by [our] disobedience are shown to be rebels against his commands. **7.** For not without cause, but sufficiently suitably and rightly had it been ordained that, according to a certain prudence, there may be only two ranks in Churches, one in

leading, the other in submitting, so that when a flock, having been wickedly divided through dissension, wanders along a crooked [path], it may be brought back to the way of union by [following] the opinion of the shepherd. **8.** This [unity] is especially to be preserved by us monks, out of all Christians, [we] who, for this [unity], withdrawing from the earthly world, cast ourselves off from wealth, so that by [virtue of] him having been placed in command over us he is to be obeyed, [and] we may follow more freely and unencumbered the examples of Christ. **9.** For nothing is well, with wealth only having been abandoned on the surface, the conversion having begun with half-hearted rejection, together with a perverse character, the false transition keeps the faith of the profession to this world. **10.** Often discussing these and similar [things], we, the whole community of Saint-Florent de Saumur, elected brother Sigo as abbot to us, obeying his authority that we may live by way of the Rule and harmoniously in the monastery. **11.** We equally bear witness to his strict character, who already have experienced for a long time the sobriety of his manner of living, his purity, humility, and patience. **12.** Indeed we presented him with joy to our lord, the most illustrious Count Geoffrey, in whose jurisdiction our monastery lies, together with lord Albert, abbot of the monastery of Marmoutier, to whom he professed, and to the other brothers who were present from the same monastery, so that which our election had decided, his authority might confirm. **13.** Then we presented him to the venerable and most prudent father Eusebius, bishop of the city of Angers, in order that, the count with his authority having handed over the rule of the *exterius* to that man, the bishop should consecrated [him] with the appropriate blessing, entrusting [to him] the care of souls according to the ecclesiastical custom. **14.** These [matters] were done with all who were present rejoicing and acclaiming with shouts of joy rather than with words.

1. Certum est omnibus qui fundamenta catholice puritatis noverunt totius ecclesie stabilitatem in pace Christi consistere et signum discipulatus eius in vera dilectione. 2. Namque sic ipsum dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum in Evangelio dixisse legimus: "hoc est preceptum meum ut diligatis invicem"; et iterum, "In hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei estis discipuli, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem", itemque, "Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis." Liqueat ergo neminem fore Christi discipulum, nisi signo dilectionis ac vere pacis fuerit insignitus. 3. Hoc vero signaculum non adipiscitur, nisi ab his in quibus fuit unitas voluntatum. 4. Voluntatum autem diversitas presertim in multitudine aliter iniri non potest, nisi in his in qui suum velle et nolle in unum propositi iudicio constituunt. 5. Unde et supernus auctor pacis sancte, nullum ordinem in ecclesia sua sine prelatorum relinquens regimine, pro certo insinuat nulla alia ratione fragilitatem labilitatis humane ad unitatem spiritus posse redigi sive in pace conservari. 6. Quare nos devote Deo sorores in cenobio beate Dei genitricis Marie apud Andegavim constitute, quia quidem vinculum pacis et signaculum christiane discipline cum dilectione, per unitatem cordis possidere cupimus, ut ad salute animarum nostrarum pertingere possimus eligimus nobis in abbatissam, domini prosperante clementia, sororem quondam morum probitate ornatam, nomine Richildim. 7. Quam certe, vice Christi, matram nobis preesse et patronam ordinari cupimus et postulamus ut, in diffinitione illius, sententiarum nostrarum et noxiorum scismatum varietas in concordia unanimatis directa, diversa non sentiat, non moliatur contraria, non, a doctrina Christi et sancti ordinis devians, in contentionis et inobedientie precipitium corruat; sed potius cum mansuetudine, jugum Christi leve et suave sustinens, ad salvationis eterne requiem pervenire contendat. 8. Facta est autem electio ista annuente Fulcone comite, 9. sub cuius ditione locus iste consistit. A quo etiam, dono rerum temporalium ad idem monasterium pertinentium suscepto; 10. presentata est deinde domno Eusebio, venerabili patri Andecavensis Urbis episcopo, ut cui comes exterius tradiderat auctoritate

dominium, episcopus quoque debita benedictione consecrans ex more ecclesiastico curam committeret animarum.

11. Signum Fulconis comitis, S. domni Eusebii presulis. Theophania decana, Adela, Letgardis, Engela, Agnes, Oda, Maria, Organ, Rentia, Milesendis, Maria, Hersendis, Aremburgis, Haduidis, Beuildis, Leburgis, Jaquelina, Anges, Emberga, Mildeardis, Lucia, Elisabeth, Hersendis, Adelaidis, Eusebia, Petronilla, Maria, Martha, Guiburgis, Hildeburgis, Anna, Theophania, Aremburgis, Actum Andegavis civitate. VIII^o kalendas Julii, in vigilia sancti Johannis Baptiste, anno incarnationis dominice MLXXIII^o regnante Philippo Francorum rege anno XIV^o. Donnolus notarius, ad vicem Raginaldi levite, rogatus scripsit in Dei nomine feliciter, amen.

1. It is certain for all who are familiar with the foundation of catholic purity that the stability of the entire Church is rooted in peace, and the sign of discipleship of Christ in love. **2.** For just as we read in the gospel that our Lord Jesus Christ said: 'this is my command, that you love one another,' and again, 'By this all shall know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another,' and also, 'Peace I leave with you, my peace I give you.' So it is clear that no one will be a disciple of Christ unless he is marked truly with the sign of love and peace. **3.** However, this sign cannot be obtained except by those in whom [there] was unity of wills. **4.** But it cannot be entered into except in those who place their wishes and denials before the judgement of one. **5.** And thus the heavenly author of holy peace, leaving no [monastic?] order in His Church without the direction of prelates, certainly intimates that [there is] no other way the frailty of human defect may be brought to a unity of spirit or maintained in peace. **6.** Therefore we sisters devoted to God in the monastery of the blessed Mary mother of God, established in Angers, serving God as [we are] able, because we long to possess indeed the bond of peace [Ephesians 4.3] and the sign of Christian teaching with love through unity of heart, and in order to be able to reach the salvation of our souls, the Lord's mercy favouring it, we choose a certain sister by the name of Richildis, distinguished by her uprightness of character, **7.** whom, certainly, by the plight of Christ, we wish to

take charge of us, to be appointed other and patroness and we ask that, in the ruling, the difference of our feelings and harmful schisms having been directed into the harmony of unity, diverse [opinions] are not held, opposing [plans] are not constructed, not straying from the teaching of Christ and of the holy order, lest she come to grief in precipitous arguing and disobedience; but rather, with gentleness, bearing the light and sweet yoke of Christ [Matthew 11:30], let her strive to reach the rest of eternal salvation. **8.** Moreover, this election took place with the consent of Count Fulk **9.** under whose jurisdiction the place stands and from whom she received the gift of temporal matters pertaining to the monastery. **10.** Then she was presented to lord Eusebius, venerable father bishop of the city of Angers, receiving from the blessing the [holy] mystery; so that once the count had handed over the rule of the *exterius* with his authority, the bishop should also consecrated [her] with the appropriate blessing, entrusting [to him] the care of souls according to the ecclesiastical custom.

11. Signum count Fulk Fulconis, S. lord Eusebii bishop. Theophania deaconess, Adela, Letgardis, Engela, Agnes, Oda, Maria, Organ, Rentia, Milesendis, Maria, Hersendis, Aremburgis, Haduidis, Beuildis, Leburgis, Jaquelina, Anges, Emberga, Mildeardis, Lucia, Elisabeth, Hersendis, Adelaidis, Eusebia, Petronilla, Maria, Martha, Guiburgis, Hildeburgis, Anna, Theophania, Aremburgis, Actum Andegavis civitate. 8th July, on the eve of St. John the Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1073, in the 14th year of the reign of King Philip of France Donnolus the notary, in turn of Raginaldus priest, having been asked, happily wrote it in the name of God. Amen.

1056 alternative, Bib. nat. ms. lat. 12658, fol. 64 rº

1. In introeundo abbatem Theodericum in abbatiam Sancti Albini antequam reciperet in capitulo solennem donationem pastoralis baculi ad monachilis gregis errantia peccora pie ut postea fecit coercendo cogenda, interrogavit fratres si illic haberet comes ullas violentas consuetudines periculum animarum continentes. Illis itaque utique respondentibus custodiam scilicet castrorum in marginibus terrae suae Fulconem comitem eis quondam imposuisse prius, deprecatione Gaufridi postea filii sui tunc comitis ibique presentis, assidua etiam violenta deprecatione violentiam potius quam consuetudinem factam, renuit ideo abbatiam dicens se non ad castra principum sed ad Dei domum venisse custodiendam. 2. Quod cum vidit Gaufredus qui ad hoc venire fecerat illum ut curam praeficeret animarum recognoscens per se et per circumstantium dicta hoc non esse officium monachorum, audientibus qui ibi aderant trium ordinum hominibus laicalis scilicet ordinis clericalis et monachilis, se illam maxime omnesque si quas ibi habeat huius modi consuetudines Deo et Sancto Albino et eius monachis perdonare et quietas clamare promisitque abbati suum et adiutorium ad tenendam in virtute Dei domum. 3. Itaque recepit abbas Theodericus abbatiam. 4. Huic donationi et consuetudinarum perdonationi affuerunt et laudaverunt testes subinserti Albertus abbas Maioris Monasterii et de monachis suis Burchardus, Gaufridus, Tetbaldus, abbas Adraldus, 5. dominus episcopus Eusebius et magister Rainaldus Hilduinus prepositus Robertus filius Frotgerii et 7. alii plures quos hic scribere non duxi necessarium.

1. When the abbot Theoderic entered the abbey of Saint-Aubin, before he accepted the solemn gift of the pastoral staff in chapter, with which he was to bring together in discipline the straying sheep of the monastic flock, as he subsequently did, he asked the brothers if the count imposed any violent *consuetudines* there which imperilled souls. They therefore replied that this was indeed the case, and referred to the task of defending an armed camp, which count Fulk had imposed on them at an earlier time on the borders of their land, although this had subsequently been

decried by his son Geoffrey, who was then the count and present there, who declared that since it involved the need to commit acts of violence continually it had become a duty to act violently rather than a simple habitual task. Therefore he refused the position of abbot, saying that he had come to defend the house of God, not a prince's castle. 2. When Geoffrey, who had made him come for the purpose of setting him in charge of the care of souls, saw this, he acknowledged on his own account and from the description of the situation that this was not the duty of monks; within the hearing of the three orders of men who were present, that is, laymen, clergy and monks, he promised to God, Saint Aubin and his monks that he would remit this habitual task, which would fall into abeyance, and pledged his assistance to the abbot in holding the house of God in a state of virtue. 3. And so Theoderic accepted the post of abbot. 4. The witnesses whose names follow were present and praised the making of this gift and the remission of this duty: Albert, abbot of Marmoutier, and, from the ranks of his monks, Burchardus, Gaufridus, Tetbaldus, abbot Adrald, 5. the lord bishop Eusebius, 6. master Rainaldus, Hilduinus, the prefect Robertus the son of Frotgerius 7. and several others whose names I did not consider it necessary to write here.

Appendix 3

1028

1. Scripture sacre tradidit auctoritas dominum nostrum, veram patris sapientiam, cum mundialem machinam sex dierum complesset, mirabili illi fabrice hominem, ad similitudinem sui nobilius creatum, prefecisse et presidem cunctis que fecerat statuisset: *crescite, inquit, et multiplicamini et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus celi et universis animantibus terre.* 2. Unde colligitur opitorem illum talia obsequia a principio mox plasmandi hominis usibus et provide prospexisse et benigna efficaciter preparasse quatinus, in erumpnosa seculi huius laboribus quos per ignorantiam incurrit, subditorum famulatu sustentatus, multimodo iuvamine iuvaretur. 3. Huius rei Moyses et Aaron, Josue quoque multique preter hos populi rectores, in lege prestiterunt exemplum. 4. In Novo si quidem Testamento presules, abbates et abbatisses a commissis sibi ovibus, pastoralis diligentia, rabidorum morsus luporum prohibere; donec intra septa dominice caule omnes possent sine periculo includere. 5. Unde igitur, in Dei nomine, nos humillima beatissime virginis Marie congregatio, non ferentes diutius rectoris carere custodia, pari voto parique concordia, per assensum Fulconis comitis eiusque conjugis Hildegardis nec non et eorum filii Gaufridi, 6. assentientibus quoque nobilibus clericis, laicis ac utriusque sexus nobilibus personis, in abbatissam nobis eligimus Leoburgam humilitate, sobrietate, castitate et aliis virtutibus ad hoc officium idoneis, gratia Dei bene predictam. 7. Hanc ergo omnes, a minimo usque ad maximum, sine alicuius contrarietate secundum regulam sancti Benedicti nobis patronam constitui et abbatissam consecrari concorditer imploramus, 8. eo tenore ut ipsa iam dictam regulam pro posse teneat et nos, paterna ammonitione, ad sequendum invitet; quatinus ipsa precedendo, sic Deo rationabile obsequium in hoc seculo exhibeamus ut in futuro, ipsa pro bona dispensatione nos pro virtute sancte obedientie remunerate, omnes pariter dulcem illam domini audire mereamur invitationem: *venite benedicti patris mei; percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.* 9. Ut autem in hac legitima electione omnes nos unanimiter pateat in posterum conspirasse, assensum cuncte prebuimus et nomina nostra inferius scripta indidimus.

10. Signum Fulconis comitis. S. Gaufridi, S. Endegardis, S. Hersendis, S. Helisabeth, S. Bove, S. Berte, S. Dode, S. Heldeburgis, S. Helisabeth, S. Richildis, S. Eremburgis, S. Eme, S. Hymberge, S. Adeloie, S. Hildegardis, S. Lisoie, S. Hilde, S. Fredeburgis, S. Gumbladis, S. Engeberge, S. Hildeburgis, S. Aie, S. Organis, S. Erseindis, item Ersendis. S. Loice, S. Legardis. S. Batildis, S. Hugonis monachi qui hanc scripsit cartulam.

1. The authority of Holy Scripture has told us that when our Lord had completed the mechanism of the universe in six days, He set man, who had been nobly created in his own image, over that amazing creation, and placed him in charge of all the things which He had made, saying *Increase, and multiply, and rule over the fishes of the sea and the birds of the sky and all the living things of the earth.* **2.** From this it may be concluded that the Maker [opticem = opificem?] had foresightedly provided, from the beginning, such complaisant things for man to use to mould thereafter, and had prepared [them] with benevolent efficiency, so that in the distressful pains of this world, which [man] incurs through ignorance, he may be helped by every kind of assistance, supported by the servitude of his subject. **3.** Moses, Aaron and Joshua and many other persons in addition have furnished an example of this in the Law. **4.** Furthermore the priests, abbots and abbesses in the New Testament have kept the bites of frenzied wolves from the sheep which have been entrusted to them through their pastoral diligence, until they have confined all of them without danger inside the enclosure of the Lord's fold. **5.** As a result therefore, in the name of God, we, the most humble congregation of the most Blessed Virgin Mary, finding it intolerable to be for any longer without the protection of a governor, with a unanimous desire and in unanimous harmony, through the agreement of count Fulk and his wife Hildegard and their son Gaufridus, **6.** and with the further agreement of the noble clergy, laity and noble persons of either sex, have chosen for our abbess Leoburga, a woman well-endowed, by the grace of God, with the humility, sobriety, purity and other virtues appropriate to this office. **7.** We therefore, from the least to the most important, without the opposition of anyone, beg that she should be constituted and

consecrated in harmony as our patron and abbess in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, **8.** with the purpose that she may herself now hold to the said rule as far as she is able, and invite us with a paternal prompting to follow her, so that, with her leading the way, we may display a reasonable obedience to God in this world and, in the next, when she receives a reward for her good stewardship, and we for the virtue of our holy obedience, we may all equally deserve to hear that invitation of the Lord: *'Come ye blessed of the Father; receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world.'* [Mt. 25:34] **9.** Furthermore, in order that it may be clear to future generations that we were all of one unanimous accord in this election, we have all proffered our assent and have set our names below.

10. Signum count Fulk. S. Gaufridi, S. Endegardis, S. Hersendis, S. Helisabeth, S. Bove, S. Berte, S. Dode, S. Heldeburgis, S. Helisabeth, S. Richildis, S. Eremburgis, S. Eme, S. Hymberge, S. Adeloie, S. Hildegardis, S. Lisoie, S. Hilde, S. Fredeburgis, S. Gumbladis, S. Engeberge, S. Hildeburgis, S. Aie, S. Organis, S. Erseindis, also Ersendis. S. Loice, S. Legardis. S. Batildis, S. Hugonis monk who wrote this charter.

1. Scripture sacre tradidit auctoritas dominum nostrum, veram patris sapientiam, cum mundialem machinam sex dierum opere complesset, mirabili illi fabrice hominem, ad similitudinem sui nobilius creatum, prefecisse et presidem cunctis que fecerat statuuisse: *crescite, inquit, et multiplicamini et dominamini piscibus maris et volatilibus celi et universis animantibus terre.* 2. Unde colligitur opificere illum talia obsequia a principio mox plasmandi hominis usibus et proinde prospexisse et benigna efficacitiam preparasse quatinus, in erumpnosis seculi huius laboribus quos per inobedientiam incurrit, subditorum famulatu sustentatus, multimodo levamine iuvaretur. Crescente autem postmodum, ut sanxerat, ac in immensum dilatata humana propagine, homines quoque hominibus provide preposuit videlicet, ut quoniam dissimilium omnes essent voluntatum et quosdam quidem non invitos ad bonum naturalis duceret intentio, plures vero ad sinistra ruerent precipites, bonorum domino et quandam sue excellentie potestate perversi, ab illicitis aversi, ad meliora etiam renitentes pertrahantur. 3. Huius rei Moyses et Aaron, Josue quoque multique preter hos populi rectores, in lege prestiterunt exemplum. 4. In novo siquidem testamento huius prefecture culminis episcopi sublimantur et sancti abbates, quibus officium est antiquorum illorum presulum typo plebem Dei ab Egyptiis mundi huius tenebris erutam, ad promissionem superne civitatis Jerusalem summa industria inducere et pastoralis diligentia ab ovibus sibi commissis luporum morsus prohibere, donec intra septa dominice caule omnes possint sine alicuius periculo includere. 5. Igitur, in Dei nomine nos humillima almi confessoris Christi Albini congregatio, per quatuor fere mensium spatia, privati domni Primoldi correctione paterna, iam non ferentes diutius rectoris carere custodia, pari voto parique omnium desiderio, per assensum domni Huberti presulis per favorem domni Fulconis comitis, 6. assentientibus quoque nobilibus clericis, et laicis ac utriusque sexus insignibus personis, in abbatem nobis eligimus et prefici ordini nostro humiliter omnes petimus de nostro cetu quendam fratrem nostrum nomine Walterium, humilitate, sobrietate, castitate ceterisque virtutibus ad hoc officium idoneis, gratia Dei bene premitam. 7. Hanc ergo omnes, a minimo usque ad maximum, sine alicuius

contrarietate secundum regulam sancti Benedicti nobis patrem constitui et abbatem consecrari concorditer imploramus, **8.** eo tenore ut predicti patris nostri normam et ipse indeclinabiliter pro posse virium suarum per adjutorium Dei teneat et premonstret, nosque ad sequendum paterna ammonitione invitet; quatinus ipse precedendo, et nos sectando, sic Deo rationabile obsequium in hoc seculo exhibeamus ut in futuro, ipse pro bona dispensatione, nos pro virtute sancte obedientie remunerati, omnes pariter dulcem illam domini audire mereamur invitationem: *venite benedicti patris mei; percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.* **9.** Ut autem in hac legitima electione omnes nos unanimiter pateat in posterum conspirasse, assensum cuncti prebuimus et nomina nostra inferius scripta indidimus.

10. Haimericus. Boso. Rotbertus. Walterius. Hildinus. Frotmundus. Letardas. Johannes. Hamo. Mainardus. Segbaldus. Laurentius. Grimoardus. Ermenredus. Haimericus. Hatto. Gelduinus. Barnardus. Osbertus. Grento. Clemens. Gausbertus. Germundus. Rainerius. Engelardus. Beringerius. Genzon. Ulgerius. Perenis. Huncbertus. Ermenfredus. Issac. Adraldus. Warinus. Arnulfus. Ascelinus. Raginaldus. Mafredus. Issac. Huncbertus. Durandus. Lanbertus. Daniel. Amfredus. Warinus. Albericus. Waleranus. Ernardus. Walterius. Walredus. Vitalis. Widdo. Andreas. Albertus. Richardus. Warinus. Engelbodus.

Actum Andecave civitate, mense decembrio, anno incarnationis dominice MXXXVIII, indictione IIII, regnante Heinricho rege. Frater Laurentius monachus, indignus sacerdos, scripsit.

1. The authority of Holy Scripture relates that our Lord, the true wisdom of the Father, when He had completed the work of the mechanism of the universe in six days, set man, who had been nobly created in his own image, over that amazing creation, and placed him in charge of all the things which He had made, saying *Increase, and multiply, and rule over the fishes of the sea and the birds of the sky and all the living things of the earth.* **2.** From this it may be concluded that the Maker

[opificere = opificem?] had foresightedly provided, from the beginning, such complaisant things for man to use to mould thereafter, and had prepared [them] with benevolent efficiency, so that in the distressful pains of this world, which [man] incurs through ignorance, he may be helped by every kind of assistance, supported by the servitude of his subject. But because human offspring was presently growing and spreading to an enormous extent, as He had decreed, He foresightedly set humans in command over humans, so that since everyone would be of dissimilar wills and natural inclination would lead some of them not unwillingly towards the Good, and many others would rush headlong into the Bad, once they had been overcome by the dominance of the good [people] and the power of their superiority, and had turned away from illicit things, they might be drawn, in their struggle, towards better things. **3.** Moses, Aaron and Joshua and many other persons in addition have furnished an example of this in the Law. **4.** Indeed, in the New Testament, bishops, holy abbots, whose duty, in imitation of those ancient bishops, is to make every effort to lead the people of God who have been rescued from Egyptian darkness to the promise of the heavenly city, Jerusalem, and have kept the bites of frenzied wolves from the sheep which have been entrusted to them through their pastoral diligence, until they have confined all of them without danger inside the enclosure of the Lord's fold. **5.** As a result therefore, in the name of God, we, the most humble congregation of kind Aubin, confessor of Christ, deprived of lord Primoldus for almost four months, and from paternal correction, now finding it intolerable to be for any longer without the protection of a governor, with a unanimous desire and in unanimous harmony with all desiring [it], through the agreement of the lord bishop Hubert and by the favour of the lord, Count Fulk, **6.** and with the further agreement of the noble clergy, laity and honourable persons of either sex, we have chosen our abbot and humbly beg all persons that a certain brother out our from our order, named Walter, be put in charge, because he has been well endowed by God's grace with humility, sobriety, chastity and other virtues appropriate to this office. **7.** We therefore, from the least to the most important, without the opposition of anyone, beg that he should be constituted and consecrated in harmony as our patron and abbot in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, **8.** with the purpose that, in

accordance with our aforementioned father, in their own strength with the help of God, he may herself now hold and teach to the said rule as far as he is able, and invite us with a paternal prompting to follow him, so that, with her leading the way and us following, we may display a reasonable obedience to God in this world and, in the next, when he receives a reward for his good stewardship, and we for the virtue of our holy obedience, we may all equally deserve to hear that invitation of the Lord: *'Come ye blessed of the my Father; receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world.'* **9.** Furthermore, in order that it may be clear to future generations that we were all of one unanimous accord in this election, we have all proffered our assent and have set our names below.

10. Haimericus. Boso. Rotbertus. Walterius. Hildinus. Frotmundus. Letardas. Johannes. Hamo. Mainardus. Segbaldus. Laurentius. Grimoardus. Ermenredus. Haimericus. Hatto. Gelduinus. Barnardus. Osbertus. Grento. Clemens. Gausbertus. Germundus. Rainerius. Engelardus. Beringerius. Genzon. Ulgerius. Perenis. Huncbertus. Ermenfredus. Issac. Adraldus. Warinus. Arnulfus. Ascelinus. Raginaldus. Mafredus. Issac. Huncbertus. Durandus. Lanbertus. Daniel. Amfredus. Warinus. Albericus. Waleranus. Ernaldus. Walterius. Walredus. Vitalis. Widdo. Andreas. Albertus. Richardus. Warinus. Engelbodus.

Enacted in the city of Angers, in the month of December, in the year of our Lord 1038, in the fourth indiction, in the reign of King Henry. Brother monk Lawrence, unworthy priest, wrote it.

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita obtemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis superne pertingere queat. 2. Ipse est enim a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt vitam et aversi sunt retrorsum et mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. 3. Nobis vero quibus pro animabus res est nec ad aliud vacare oportet, satagendum est omnimodo nisu qualiter per viam veritatis pertendamus ad felicitatem vite perhennis. 4. Qui autem jugum Christi suave humili cervice perferre professi sumus, ad uniendam diversarum voluntatum affectionem union gubernatoris secundum Domini provisionem et abbatis sollicitam gubernationem nobis et universis sub monastico habitu militantibus maxime necessariam cognoscimus. 5. Igitur, in Dei nomine nos humilis sancti confessoris Christi Albini congregatio, per trium fere mensium spatia, privati domni Theoderici correctione dulci et paterna, iam non ferentes diutius nec utile nobis esse sentientes recoris carere custodia, pari voto parique omnium desiderio salubriter quidem sapientium, per assensum domni Eusebii presulis per favorem principis nostri Goffridi, incliti comitis, 6. collaudantibus quoque nobilibus, clericis ac laicis atque utriusque sexus insignibus personis, in abbatem nobis eligimus et prefici ordini nostro auxiliante Deo, humiliter petimus de nostro cetu quendam fratrem nomine Otbrannum, ab hinc retro nobis priorem et per gratiam Dei humilitate, sobrietate, castitate atque moderata prudentia ceterisque virtutibus ad hoc officium idoneis, bene peditam. 7. Hunc ergo secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patrem nobis constitui et abbatem consecrari concorditer imploramus, 8. eo tenore ut predicti patris nostri Benedicti normam, et ipse indeclinabiliter pro posse virium suarum per adjutorium Dei teneat et premonstret, et nos ad sequendum paterna admonitione invitet; quatinus ipse precedendo, et nos sectando, sic rationabile Deo obsequium in hoc seculo exhibeamus ut in futuro, ille pro fidei dispensatione, nos pro virtute sancte obedientie remunerati, omnes pariter dulcem illam domini audire mereamur invitationem: *venite benedicti patris mei; percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est ab origine mundi.* 9. Ut autem in hac

electione nos legitime in posterum pateat conspirasse, cartam hanc contrectavimus et assensum prebentes nomina nostra inferius scripta indidimus.

10. Rotbertus. Ermenredus. Clemens. Andeas. Hubertus. Warinus. Gaufridus. Ascelinus. Raginaldus. Widdo. Walterius. Girardus. Frotmundus. Gurhannus. Herbertus. Bernerius. Burchardus. Hubertus. Johannes. Bernerius. Frotmundus. Engelerius. Ingelbadus. Raimbertus. Girbertus. Rotbertus. Balduinus. Johannes. Warnerius. Winebertus. Sicbaldus. Willelmus. Ansgerius. Adhelelanus. Isenardus. Lambertus. Haimericus. Arnulfus. Durandus. Drogo. Raincrius. Odo. Giraldus. Rotbertus. Widdo. Fausbertus. Lambertus. Elinannus. Raginaldus. Larnogonius. Girardus. Gausbertus. Frotgerius. Giraldus. Walcherius. Tetbaudus. Hugo. Tetbaudus. Hubertus. Orricus. Hildegarius. Stabilis. Albericus. Raginaldus. Hatto. Alberticus. Gausbertus. Hildradus. Achardus. Constantius. Hubertus. Martinus. Gunterius. Bernardus. Willelmus. Dodo. Petrus. Bernardus.

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight above. **2.** For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook the mode of life, having been diverted the opposite way, they cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. **3.** The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and by every sort of effort as we persevere along the path of truth to the joy of eternal life. **4.** We who have professed to bear the gentle yoke of Christ on [our] humble neck recognise that it is absolutely necessary for us and for everyone who serves as a soldier in the monastic habit [to have] the solicitous governance of one leader and abbot, for the purpose of unifying the disposition of various wills. **5.** As a result therefore, in the name of God, we, the most humble congregation of kind Aubin, confessor of Christ, deprived of lord Theoderic for almost three months, and from dear and paternal correction, now finding it intolerable to be for any longer

without the protection of a governor nor finding it advantageous for us, with a unanimous desire and in unanimous harmony with all desiring [it] beneficially wisely, through the agreement of the lord bishop Eusebius and by the favour of our prince, the illustrious Count Fulk, **6.** and with the further praise of the noble clergy, laity and honourable persons of either sex, we have chosen our abbot with the help of God and humbly beg all persons that a certain brother out our from our order, named Otbrannus, be put in charge, [who was] formerly our prior and by the grace of God endowed with humility, sobriety, chastity, prudence and moderation, and other virtues appropriate to this office. **7.** We therefore, beg that she should be constituted and consecrated in harmony as our patron and abbot in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, **8.** with the purpose that, in accordance with our aforementioned father, in their own strength with the help of God, he may herself now hold and teach to the said rule as far as he is able, and invite us with a paternal prompting to follow him, so that, with her leading the way and us following, we may display a reasonable obedience to God in this world and, in the next, when he receives a reward for his faithful stewardship, and we for the virtue of our holy obedience, we may all equally deserve to hear that invitation of the Lord: *'Come ye blessed of the my Father; receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world.'* [Mt. 25:34] **9.** Furthermore, in order that it may be clear to future generations that we were all of one unanimous accord in this election, we handled this charter and we have all proffered our assent and have set our names below.

10. Rotbertus. Ermenredus. Clemens. Andeas. Hubertus. Warinus. Gaufridus. Ascelinus. Raginaldus. Widdo. Walterius. Girardus. Frotmundus. Gurhannus. Herbertus. Bernerius. Burchardus. Hubertus. Johannes. Bernerius. Frotmundus. Engelerius. Ingelbadus. Raimbertus. Girbertus. Rotbertus. Balduinus. Johannes. Warnerius. Winebertus. Sicbaldus. Willelmus. Ansgerius. Adhelelanus. Isenardus. Lambertus. Haimericus. Arnulfus. Durandus. Drogo. Raincrius. Odo. Giraldus. Rotbertus. Widdo. Fausbertus. Lambertus. Elinannus. Raginaldus. Larnogonius. Girardus. Gausbertus. Frotgerius. Giraldus. Walcherius. Tetbaudus. Hugo. Tetbaudus. Hubertus. Orricus. Hildegarius. Stabilis. Albericus. Raginaldus. Hatto.

Alberticus. Gausbertus. Hiltradus. Achardus. Constantius. Hubertus. Martinus.
Gunterius. Bernardus. Willelmus. Dodo. Petrus. Bernardus.

1. Novimus quę precepta dederit dominus cunctis hominibus se scilicet timere et mandatis eius omni oblivione postposita obtemperare hoc est enim omnis homo in hoc scilicet positus ad hoc creatus ut deum timeat eique incessanter serviat et serviens eo duce ad claritatem visionis superne pertingere queat. 2. Ipse est enim via a quo aberrantes multi dereliquerunt vitam et aversi sunt retrorsum et mundo qui in maligno positus est adheserunt. 3. Nobis vero quibus pro animabus res est nec ad aliud vacare oportet, satagendum est omnimodo nisu qualiter per viam veritatis pertendamus ad felicitatem vitę perhennis. 4. Qui autem jugum Christi suave humili cervice perferre professi sumus, ad uniendam diversarum voluntatum affectionem union gubernatoris secundum Domini provisionem et abbatis sollicitam gubernationem nobis et universis sub monastico habitu militantibus maxime necessariam cognoscimus. 5. Igitur, in Dei nomine nos humilis sancti confessoris Christi Albini congregatio, iam aliquandiu privati domni Otbranni abbatis correctione dulci et paterna, iam non ferentes diutius nec utile nobis esse sentientes recorıs carere custodia, pari voto parique omnium desiderio salubriter quidem sapientium, per assensum domni Gaufridi presulis et per favorem principis nostri domni Fulconis, incliti comitis, 6. collaudantibus quoque nobilibus, clericis ac laicis atque utriusque sexus insignibus personis, in abbatem nobis eligimus et prefici ordini nostro, auxiliante Deo, humiliter petimus de nostro cetu quendam fratrem nomine Girardum, ab hinc retro nobis priorem et per gratiam Dei humilitate, sobrietate, castitate atque moderata prudentia ceterisque virtutibus ad hoc officium idoneis, bene predictam. 7. Hunc ergo secundum regulam sancti Benedicti patrem nobis constitui et abbatem consecrari concorditer imploramus, 8. et tenore ut predicti patris Benedicti normam, et ipse indeclinabiliter pro posse virium suarum per adjutorium Dei teneat et premonstret, et nos ad sequendum paterna admonitione invitet; quatinus ipse precedendo, et nos sectando, sic rationabile Deo obsequium in hoc seculo exhibeamus ut in futuro ille pro fideli dispensatione, nos pro virtute sancte obediencie remunerati, omnes pariter dulcem illam domini audire mereamur invitationem: *venite benedicti patris mei; percipite regnum quod vobis paratum est*

ab origine mundi. **9.** Ut autem in hac electione nos legitime in posterum pateat conspirasse, cartam hanc contrectavimus et assensum prebentes nomina nostra inferius scripta indidimus.

10. Bernerius. Johannes. Frotmundus. Rotbertus. Ansgerus. Lanbetus> Rotbertus. Gausbertus. Beringerius. Hubertus. Tetbaudus. Odo. Gausbertus. Rotbertus. Hildegarius. Froterius. Giraldus. Constantius. Orricus. Constantius. Gaufridus. Haimericus. Hildradus. Achardus. Johannes. Alberticus. Fulcradus. Dodo. Salomon. Warinus. Gaufridus. Warinus. Willelmus. Herbertus. Petrus. Tehellus. Gausbertus. Johaes. Hildradus. Bernardus. Laurentius. Radulfus. Hivo. Vitalis. Widdo. Motbertus. Hucbuertus. Matfridus. Hugo. Berardus. Herbertus. Stephnus. Avisgaudus. Gaufridus. Richerius. Andreas. Herveus. Beringerius. Widdo. Maiguissus. Rainaldus. Brientius. Constantius. Walterius. Warnerius. Herveus. Wigonus. Rannulfus. Hugo. Warinus. Haimericus. Walterius. Warinus. Rainaldus. Achardus. Bernerius. Willelmus. Gaufridus. Mainguisis. Huncbertus. Vulfrinus. Odo. Hildegarius. Ingelfridus. Gurhannus. Richardus. Bernardus. Herbertus. Rotbertus. Garerius. Adhelandus. Bertrannus. Gaufridus. Ylbetus. Rainerius. Lisonis. Girbertus. Vaufridus. Warinus. Mimardus. Warnerius. Widdo. Hucbertus. Goscelinus. Willelmus.

1. We know the instructions which the Lord gave to all men, namely, to fear him and to obey all of his commandments, forgetfulness having been laid aside, for this is the whole duty of every man. That is, [every man] having been placed in [his] role for this [purpose]: that he might fear God and serve Him unceasingly and in serving that guide [to the point where] he is able to attain the glory of the sight above. **2.** For He himself is the way, from which many straying forsook the mode of life, having been diverted the opposite way, they cling to this world, which is seated in wickedness. **3.** The situation exists for the sake of our soul, and by every sort of effort as we persevere along the path of truth to the joy of eternal life. **4.** We who have professed to bear the gentle yoke of Christ on [our] humble neck recognise that it is absolutely necessary for us and for everyone who serves as a

soldier in the monastic habit [to have] the solicitous governance of one leader and abbot, for the purpose of unifying the disposition of various wills. **5.** As a result therefore, in the name of God, we, the most humble congregation of kind Aubin, confessor of Christ, now deprived for some time of lord Abbot Otbrannus and from dear and paternal correction, now finding it intolerable to be for any longer without the protection of a governor nor finding it advantageous for us, with a unanimous desire and in unanimous harmony with all desiring [it] beneficially wisely, through the agreement of the lord bishop Geoffrey and by the favour of our prince, the illustrious Count Fulk, **6.** and with the further praise of the noble clergy, laity and honourable persons of either sex, we have chosen our abbot with the help of God and humbly beg all persons that a certain brother out our from our order, named Girard be put in charge, [who was] formerly our prior and by the grace of God endowed with humility, sobriety, chastity, prudence and moderation, and other virtues appropriate to this office. **7.** We therefore, beg that she should be constituted and consecrated in harmony as our patron and abbot in accordance with the rule of St. Benedict, **8.** with the purpose that, in accordance with our aforementioned father, in their own strength with the help of God, he may herself now hold and teach to the said rule as far as he is able, and invite us with a paternal prompting to follow him, so that, with her leading the way and us following, we may display a reasonable obedience to God in this world and, in the next, when he receives a reward for his faithful stewardship, and we for the virtue of our holy obedience, we may all equally deserve to hear that invitation of the Lord: *'Come ye blessed of the my Father; receive the kingdom that has been prepared for you since the beginning of the world.'* [Mt. 25:34] **9.** Furthermore, in order that it may be clear to future generations that we were all of one unanimous accord in this election, we handled this charter and we have all proffered our assent and have set our names below.

10. Bernerius. Johannes. Frotmundus. Rotbertus. Ansgerius. Lanbetus> Rotbertus. Gausbertus. Beringerius. Hubertus. Tetbaudus. Odo. Gausbertus. Rotbertus. Hildegarius. Frotgerius. Giraldus. Constantius. Orricus. Constantius. Gaufridus. Haimericus. Hiltradus. Achardus. Johannes. Alberticus. Fulcradus. Dodo. Salomon.

Warinus. Gaufridus. Warinus. Willelmus. Herbertus. Petrus. Tehellus. Gausbertus.
Johaes. Hildradus. Bernardus. Laurentius. Radulfus. Hivo. Vitalis. Widdo.
Motbertus. Hucbuertus. Matfridus. Hugo. Berardus. Herbertus. Stephnus.
Avisgaudus. Gaufridus. Richerius. Andreas. Herveus. Beringerius. Widdo.
Maiguissus. Rainaldus. Brientius. Constantius. Walterius. Warnerius. Herveus.
Wigonus. Rannulfus. Hugo. Warinus. Haimericus. Walterius. Warinus. Rainaldus.
Achardus. Bernerius. Willelmus. Gaufridus. Mainguisis. Huncbertus. Vulfrinus. Odo.
Hildegarius. Ingelfridus. Gurhannus. Richardus. Bernardus. Herbertus. Rotbertus.
Garerius. Adhelandus. Bertrannus. Gaufridus. Ylbetus. Rainerius. Lisonis.
Girbertus. Vaufridus. Warinus. Mimardus. Warnerius. Widdo. Hucbertus.
Goscelinus. Willelmus.

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